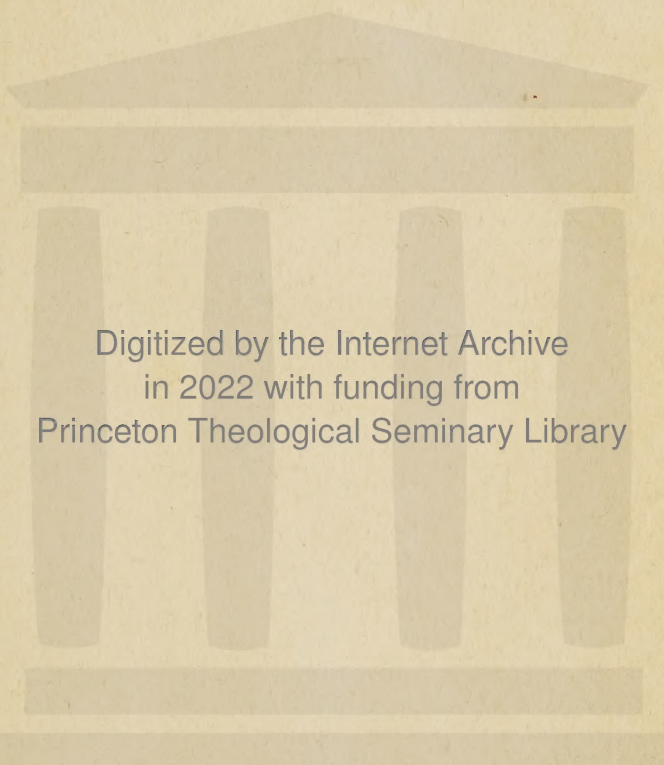


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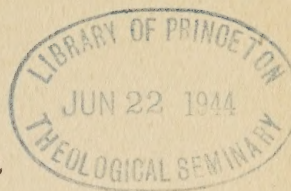
SHERWOOD EDDY

and KIRBY PAGE

THE ABOLITION OF WAR

THE CASE AGAINST WAR
AND
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
CONCERNING WAR

BY
SHERWOOD EDDY
AND
KIRBY PAGE



NEW  YORK

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BY SHERWOOD EDDY

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PART I: *The Case Against War*

BY SHERWOOD EDDY

PART I: *The Case Against War*

I: A PERSONAL TESTIMONY

It has taken the writer ten long years since 1914 to reach his present position upon the moral problem involved in war. As the change which has taken place in his own thinking may be typical of the experience of many who are going through the same transition today, he feels constrained to enumerate the stages through which he has passed, for the possible benefit of others who may be perplexed by the same problem. As confessions cannot be written in the third person, he asks the reader's permission to use the first. He speaks, however, personally and unofficially, not as representing the views of any organization or denomination.

I am an American of Puritan Pilgrim ancestry, a direct descendant of John Alden and Priscilla, and of Samuel Eddy, who came to Amer-

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ica on the third Pilgrim ship, "Handmaid," in 1630. I supported Roosevelt in his early demand that we enter the great conflict, and I was against the neutrality of Woodrow Wilson and the campaign slogan, "He kept us out of war." As touching war, I was "a Pharisee of the Pharisees;" as touching zeal, I was for fighting the Germans. I had an abhorrence of "pacifism" and everything seemingly passive or pacific pertaining to it. It was against all my natural instincts, disposition and training. I was brought up in the West. My mother went to school with Buffalo Bill, and camping and hunting were the delight of my boyhood, as big game shooting in the elephant and tiger jungles of India was my favorite relaxation in later life.

During the war I wrote "The Right to Fight," defending America's entry into the world conflict with her high motives and ends, and making a tenfold indictment of Prussian militarism.¹

¹*"Why then was America forced to fight?"* We maintain that it was for the following ten reasons: the growing menace of Prussian militarism; a premeditated war of aggressive world conquest; the violation of Belgium against the most solemn treaty rights; the ruthless devastation of Poland; the deliberate extermination of the Armenians; persistent German atrocities; the sinking of the 'Lusitania' and more than 800 neutral vessels; the repeated violation of American rights and property; the crimes of the German

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The book contained also a threefold condemnation of the position maintained by pacifists because of what seemed to me their undue emphasis placed upon mere physical life, their theoretical idealism which would attain the desired end of peace without providing any adequate means for the same, and their seemingly inadequate social sense of obligation to the community, which they could not forcibly defend, yet whose armed protection they continued to enjoy.

I was ashamed of America's failure to enter the war and, though over age, I was with the British Army in 1916 as a non-combatant religious worker in their camps in the British Isles and in France. I met the First Division of the American Army when it entered France, and later threw myself into all the financial campaigns for the various agencies engaged in helping to win the war. I believed in the war and in the high motives and ends of America and the Allies. I believed it was a war to end war, to protect womanhood, to destroy militarism and

spy system in our own country; and the ruthless policy of indiscriminate submarine warfare, forbidding to all nations the freedom of the seas." "The Right to Fight," pp. 35, 36.

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autocracy and to make a new world "fit for heroes to live in"—a world of liberty, equality of opportunity, and fraternity; a world of peace based on justice. At the front we told the soldiers that if they would win we would give them a new world. It was the last war, it was to be once for all, and "never again." It was a kind of holy crusade, a half-divine crucifixion of humanity for saving the world. We reminded ourselves with satisfaction that it was on Good Friday that America declared war. There was no question about the heroism of the men, the priceless outpouring of life and treasure, the boundless sacrifice of the score and more of nations engaged in the war.

I was for a time a guest at the British General Headquarters and was conducted with three other Americans along the British front from Ypres down the long line toward Soissons. I was a guest again of the French officers in the underground fortress of Verdun, where I learned from the commanding officer that over 500,000 young men lay dead and buried on that one field, while an even larger number had been

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killed at Ypres. Here were a million men dead upon two battlefields alone. I visited the Grand Fleet and had a permit to accompany our destroyers hunting submarines. I flew with our air force on the training fields in France and saw the fighting along the British, French and American lines.

But I can remember that even during the war I began to be troubled by grave doubts and misgivings of conscience. I met the battalions that were daily going to the front. I had to answer the questions of the men in the camps as to what it was all about, whether the war was right, and whether a Christian should kill his fellowmen. I can remember pacing up and down within sound of the guns, and on the sands of the seashore at the great base camps, deeply troubled in conscience and wrestling with this most difficult moral problem. For here seemed to be a veritable conflict of duties. How could one be at once loyal to country and to Christ, how could he at once serve Caesar and God? If one obeyed the call of his country must he break the command of God? If he followed the Sermon on

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the Mount, or the example of Jesus, must he be unpatriotic and disloyal to the law of the land? When I wrote "With Our Soldiers in France," I had such difficulty over the chapter which I had written on "The Moral Grounds of War" that finally I had to leave it out of the book.

I was troubled by the questions and doubts of some of the soldiers themselves. One American soldier met in battle a German boy who was under age and no match for him. He easily ran him through with his bayonet. As the boy fell, he smiled up in his face. The American could not get the look of that smiling, blue-eyed boy out of his mind. He could kill no more. After that he fired into the air. The testimony of a young English officer early in the war deeply impressed me. He wrote: "It is hideously exasperating to hear people talking the glib common-places about the war and distributing cheap sympathy to its victims. Perhaps you are tempted to give them a picture of a leprous earth, scattered with the swollen and blackening corpses of hundreds of young men. The appalling stench of rotting carrion, mingled with the sickening smell

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of exploded lyddite and ammonal. Mud like porridge, trenches like shallow and sloping cracks in the porridge—porridge that stinks in the sun. Swarms of flies and bluebottles clustering on pits of offal. Wounded men lying in the shell holes among decaying corpses, helpless under the scorching sun and bitter nights, under repeated shelling. Men with bowels dropping out, lungs shot away, with blinded, smashed faces, or limbs blown into space. Men screaming and gibbering, wounded men hanging in agony on the barbed wire until a friendly spout of liquid fire shrivels them up like a fly in a candle. But these are only words, and probably only convey a fraction of their meaning to their hearers. They shudder, and it is forgotten.”¹ Such words, such needs and such ghastly realities, shook one’s conviction, at times, as to the right or wrong of it all, as Saul of Tarsus must have been shaken in his course of zealous persecution as he stood by at the stoning of Stephen.

But as Lowell says, “every man is the prisoner of his own date,” the product of his own time. He

¹ “The Right to Fight,” p. 7.

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does not live to himself and seldom thinks things through to a conclusion independently. He is unconsciously and overwhelmingly influenced by the mass mind around him and molded by his environment. To break away from the entire war system, to rise above the whole habit and method of retaliation, of settlement by force instead of reason, was contrary to my temperament and nature.

Few have been able to see with unprejudiced eyes the evils of their own time. The habitual seems the inevitable, the usual seems justifiable. Thus, for more than twenty centuries men had defended slavery, from the time of Aristotle, who found it on his hands and wrote a philosophy to justify it, down to the saintly evangelist George Whitefield, and the majority of the ministers even in the northern states of America up to the time of Garrison. As late as 1841 an American clergyman could say conscientiously that he owned thirty of his fellow human beings and would wade knee-deep in blood to prove his right to own them. He read his own prejudices into his Bible, his conscience, his reason. So to-

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day it is easier for us to see clearly regarding the moral wrong of the past issue of slavery than to judge the present issue of war. Good men had long defended the duel, the burning of witches, the killing or torture of prisoners, the Inquisition, the liquor traffic and almost every other monstrous evil. And here was I, though troubled in conscience, defending war by tradition and custom, by passion and prejudice.

Then came the end of the war, with its aftermath, and the ghastly failure of the "peace" that followed. This war that was to end war had started a score of smoldering conflagrations. The one Alsace-Lorraine left as a bone of contention after the war of 1871, was replaced by a dozen danger zones, each and all of which threatened to disrupt the "peace" of Europe and the world.¹

¹ Mr. Lloyd George mentions a few of these danger zones as follows: "There is the annexation of Vilna by force; there is the annexation of Galicia by force, by violence, by the use of arms against the will of the population. Elsewhere you have the German and the Pole quarreling over Silesia; the Russian and the Pole over doubtful boundaries; the Czech and the Magyar; the Serbian and the Bulgarian; the Russian and the Rumanian; the Rumanian and the Magyar. There is the age-long feud between Greek and Turk. All have an air of biding opportunity; all are armed ready for slaughter. Europe is a seething cauldron of international hates, with powerful men in command of the fuel stores feeding the flames and stoking the fires." "Where Are We Going?" David Lloyd George, p. 38.

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At the close of the war I attended a conference of American and German Christian leaders in Dresden. There were present the representatives of the German Student Movement, many of them young Christian officers who had fought for several years without hatred or bitterness, together with Christian leaders from America. After an all-day conference, when we had come more fully to understand one another, we found that however mistaken any of us might be, both sides had believed they were fighting a defensive war, reading daily of the heroism and sacrifice of their own troops and of the alleged atrocities of the enemy. I was forced to sum up the situation at this conference as follows: "The saddest thing is not that some ten millions of our best young men are dead, that the world is impoverished, victimized on both sides by a distorted propaganda, embittered by hate, rent by division, suspicion and fear. It is that neither side seems to have learned the lesson of the war. Both are ready to begin all over again, to swallow the propaganda as eagerly as ever, to fear and hate, to misrepresent and kill as mercilessly as before.

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We have settled nothing, made nothing safe, achieved no lasting good commensurate with the awful sacrifices of the whole world, that could not have been better done without the war." Finally, we went out together as men who at last understood each other, and stood around the banner, "No More War," of their working men, who had marched some 60,000 strong in their recent demonstration.

During the last two years in speaking in the American colleges, while I have pleaded for the outlawry of war and the substitution of means and methods of peace, and while I have maintained the right of every individual to follow his own conscience, I have repeatedly said that I myself could not go the whole way in refusing to support any future war. I still seemed to feel, however, a lingering inconsistency in this half-way position that was not satisfying. My heart was won but my head was not convinced. I saw the theory and admired the ideal, but would it work in practice? I abhorred war, but was not prepared to break with it. Yet I was forced to admit that Jesus did not and would not

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so compromise. He at least was consistent in heart and mind, in theory and practice, in teaching and life. Thousands around me were really living out his¹ way of life in this matter without compromise, while here was I professing to believe in it and recommending it in all other areas of life, yet not daring concretely and practically to trust it in this realm of the world's deepest need, its greatest social sin, its most burning moral issue. A final choice seemed inevitable. Either the ultimate power in the universe was spiritual or material, love or hate, moral suasion or dynamite, spiritual salvation or material destruction. Either the final sanction and authority was man or God, Caesar or Christ. Which was it to be? I could not serve two masters.

Now, at last, after ten long years, I have reached bed-rock in my conviction, I have found stable equilibrium in my thought. I am finally done with war. I, too, can now say with that growing army of men and women of goodwill in every land, "No More War." I can now

¹ Pronouns referring to God or to Jesus Christ, as in the Authorized and Revised Versions, are not given in capitals in this pamphlet.

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throw my life into the breach against it. Concerning war, like William Lloyd Garrison on the great moral issue of slavery, I count myself an Abolitionist. I stand for nothing passive or palely pacific, but for indomitable love, and the great offensive of militant goodwill, as ready to live or die for this cause as the men who fought in the trenches. I believe that in this great modern crusade, I have found for myself what Professor James called "the moral equivalent of war."

II: THE DEFINITION OF WAR

Much of the difficulty connected with the moral issues of war is caused by confusion of thought and terminology. War, police, the use of force, the defense of one's family, the killing of a mad dog, Christ's cleansing the temple of the money-changers—are all indiscriminately confused, and the whole question settled for some by a simple illustration or a supposed analogy. Would you kill a mad dog? Would you defend your wife against a violator? Would you oppose Mexican bandits who were invading your country? Certainly, we say. Therefore, the whole method of modern war must be necessary and right; so runs the familiar argument.

Let us at the outset attempt to clear the air by definition. What is war? Countless definitions have been offered but there is no one satisfying, final and official description of war.¹

¹ According to Cicero, "War is a contest or contention carried on by force." Grotius, the father of international law, said:

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In this pamphlet, combining several definitions in one, we shall define the term in the light of the experience of modern warfare, as follows:

War is a means of attempting to settle international or civil disputes, by armed military forces, through the organized destruction of life and property, in which each side seeks to impose its will upon the other by force.

Several points are fundamental in this definition. First of all, war is a *means* and not an end. We must not confuse it with the high and holy ends that may be in view, such as the freeing of slaves, the protection of the helpless, the attempt "to end war," "to make the world safe," etc. The end may be right while the means may

"War is the state of contending parties, considered as such. ** Justice is not included in the definition of war, because the very point to be decided is, whether any war be just, and what war may be so called. Therefore we must make a distinction between war itself and the justice of it." The New Standard Dictionary defines war as "a contest ** carried on by force and with arms ** to obtain and establish the superiority and domination of one of the belligerents over the other." The C. O. P. E. C. conference of Great Britain thus defines it: "War is force carried to the slaughter of innocent people wholesale, organized by states without any court of justice or appeal to a higher power, and aiming on each side at the subjugation of the opposing nation to the will of the conqueror." "Christianity and War," p. 60, Report of the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, April 5-12, 1924. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, "War is the armed conflict of states, in which each seeks to impose its will upon the other by force."

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be futile or wrong. The end does not justify the means. The noble end of winning the world does not justify the Jesuitical means of deceit; the praiseworthy object of the saving of souls does not vindicate the tortures of the Inquisition; the holy zeal of our Pilgrim fathers did not justify their burning of witches and peaceful Quakers. Our Civil War freed the slaves, but other countries liberated their captives without shedding blood. Great Britain, long before our American Civil War, liberated all her slaves with full compensation to the owners; without leaving her country embittered, divided, impoverished and with a lasting prejudice against the Negro.

We are not here questioning the high ends that may be in view in war, nor the noble motives that may inspire the soldiers, such as loyalty, bravery and sacrifice. These motives may be and actually have been found in connection with slavery and the duel. But noble motives do not justify these evils. Many slave-owners were kind and generous; many who fought fatal duels, like Alexander Hamilton, were the soul of honor.

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But noble motives and high ends do not justify modern war any more than they do these other evils. War is a means or method of attempting to accomplish certain ends and as such it must be judged.

War is waged by *armed military forces*. Again, our definition must clearly distinguish between an army and police. A police force differs from an army in at least three ways. The police is a *neutral third party* for bringing the criminal to judicial trial for an impartial decision, based not upon force but upon law. But the military army is judge, jury and executioner all combined under the sway of passion. The decision of battle is based upon might, not right. Instead of the impartial scales of justice, which may be balanced in the calm of the court room, we have the fury of passion in blind destruction. Might has no necessary connection with right and a decision in war is seldom a lasting settlement.

In the second place, *the police deals specifically with the criminal individual*, or individuals,

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while war is seldom able to reach, or even try, a Kaiser, a Ludendorff, a Tirpitz or men on either side who may be guilty of the foulest crimes. Perforce it destroys indiscriminately innocent and guilty alike. It leaves literally millions of dead men, women and children, who had no part in the plotting, the scheming, the lying, the profiteering, the propaganda or the cruelty of the conflict. It turns the world into a slaughter-house for multitudes who had no vote or adequate knowledge of the real causes and issues of the war.

In the third place, the police is ideally, and in large measure actually, *redemptive*, while war is inherently and inevitably *destructive*. The police exists to protect life and property. It does not and cannot conquer other cities or countries, while the army is fully equipped for the maximum destruction of life and property.

The police force, moreover, is a voluntary body, commanding the moral support of practically the whole community. The modern army in time of war is drafted by compulsion and often

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involves the coercion of the conscience of the individual. It is vast and unwieldy in size and cannot be kept within moral bounds. Speaking for himself, the writer believes in an adequate police force to deal with criminal or lawless individuals or groups, the city mob, bandits within the nation's border or invading from without. All this comes within the province of the police without involving organized warfare between civilized nations. He believes in all necessary use of force under judicial sanction. He does not believe in the lawless and destructive use of force to settle differences between individuals, states or nations. Courts are already in existence to settle all such differences.

Having clearly in mind the distinction between police and an army, and recalling our definition of modern war, we are now prepared to examine it as a means of attempting to settle international disputes. More than ten years after 1914, having gone through the war in close connection with several armies in the field, and having observed its effects in the devastated continent of Europe,

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the writer has slowly come to the conclusion that modern war is always wrong, and that it is wrong for three reasons. It is wrong in its methods, it is wrong in its results, it is unchristian.

III: WAR IS WRONG IN ITS METHODS

Space will permit the mention of only three typical methods of war—ruthless military necessity, reprisals and a distorted propaganda.

1. War employs the *method of ruthless military necessity, under an irresponsible national sovereignty, where might makes right*. Under this chauvinistic nationalism, one side takes as its motto, “Deutschland über alles.” The other side sees clearly every mote in the eye of the enemy while it cries with Stephen Decatur and the “world’s greatest newspaper,” “Right or wrong, my country.” Irresponsible nationalism on both sides is placed above the moral order of the universe. One side justifies the violation of Belgium as a “military necessity.” The other, by the same token, defends the far more deadly Allied hunger blockade, which was destroying 100,000 women, children and old men a year, when it had reached its full efficiency.

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Under "military necessity" Germany violates her own treaty with Belgium, torn up as a mere "scrap of paper." We seize on this phrase to advertise her guilt, holding up our hands in holy horror. And then we tear up our scrap of paper, the fourteen points proposed by the democratically elected President of the United States, and officially offered by the Allies as a basis for Germany's laying down her arms in the armistice and for the peace treaty.¹

Military necessity imposes the weapons of modern warfare. These include poison gas, burning oil, submarines, aeroplane bombs, hunger blockades and possibly in the future death rays and disease germs.²

¹ "At the Armistice in November, 1918, America received the solemn promise of France, Great Britain and Italy, as well as of Germany, that peace should be made upon the basis of the Fourteen Points. They accepted, not merely casually, but formally, the principle (the President made it the first of five principles in his address of September, 1918) that 'the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just'." "The Versailles Treaty and After," Ray Stannard Baker, p. 12.

² "The final form of human strife, as I regard it, is germ warfare. I think it will come to that; and so far as I can see, there is no reason why it should not, if you mean to fight. Study the waging of war on a wholesale scale instead of thinking so much about methods which will kill individuals one at a time." Major General E. D. Swinton, of the British Army, quoted by Will Irwin in "The Next War," pp. 48, 49.

WAR IS WRONG IN ITS METHODS

Under military necessity, since the armistice the range of guns has been doubled, the speed of tractors trebled and the destructiveness of aeroplane bombs increased tenfold. Machine guns are now available which fire 1,500 shots per minute. An automatic cannon has been perfected which fires one-and-a-quarter-pound shells at the rate of 120 per minute. We now have a 16-inch gun which hurls a missile weighing more than a ton a distance of 27 miles. A speed of 200 miles an hour for airplanes is now common, with a possibility of 250 miles an hour. In endurance tests, machines have remained in the air for 36 hours continuously, and non-stop flights of more than 2,000 miles have been made. Airships are now available with a cruising range of 4,000 miles and a gross lifting power of 120,000 pounds. The significance of aviation in any war of the future was borne in upon the writer last summer when he flew from Berlin to London in seven hours and crossed the English Channel in exactly thirteen minutes.

The size of demolition bombs is steadily growing. During the recent war, 400-pound bombs

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were considered highly effective, while now 4000-pound bombs are available. One of these bombs would be sufficient to destroy completely the Woolworth Building. In the realm of poison gas, great progress is also being made. In this connection, D. B. Bradner, Chief of the Chemical Research and Development Section of the United States Chemical Warfare Service, said: "The Chemical Warfare Service has discovered a liquid approximately three drops of which, when applied to any part of the skin, will cause a man's death. One plane carrying two tons of the liquid could cover an area 100 feet wide by seven miles long in one trip and could deposit material to kill every man in that area by action on his skin." Deadly disease germs are also available. A few well-placed bombs filled with these germs could poison the water supply of whole areas. With comparative ease, whole sections of a population could be infected with virulent diseases. On this point, General E. D. Swinton, of the British Army, says: "The great future weapon of war will be deadly germs. We have since the war discovered and developed

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germs which, dropped down upon cities and armies, will slaughter a nation in a day." Progress is also being made in projecting electric rays through space with deadly effect. There is an abundance of evidence to indicate that submarines and torpedoes will be vastly more destructive of life and commerce in any future war. In short, war can never be humanized or moralized; it can only be abolished.

The individual soldier fights under a military necessity which takes no account of his qualms of conscience. Whatever the command may be, moral or immoral, right or wrong, to sink a *Lusitania*, bomb a defenseless city, or release a flood of poison gas, he has no longer any moral control over his action. But centuries ago Tertullian said, before a worldly church had sanctioned war, "The life of faith knows no plea of necessity, for how can there be a necessity to sin, in a life the one necessity of which is that it does not sin?" And long before him, he whom he counted the Lord of Life had left no place for military necessity nor any two masters in a divided moral allegiance.

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2. War employs the *method of reprisals and counter-reprisals, atrocities and counter-atrocities*. In its very nature, war is retaliation under the sway of passion. This induces counter-retaliation. Neither side thinks the score is even or is ready to stop, short of exhaustion caused by devastating destruction. A temporary surrender is usually only a respite to gain revenge. War is not a settlement but an unsettlement; it is a boundless provocation; it is a cumulative counter-offensive where evil outdoes evil, force overwhelms force, hatred kindles a deeper hate. Bernard Shaw writes, "And so to the end of history, murder shall breed murder, always in the name of right and honor and peace." Richard Cobden says, "From the moment the first shot is fired, or the first blow is struck in a dispute, then farewell to all reason and argument; you might as well reason with mad dogs as with men when they have begun to spill each other's blood in mortal combat."

The writer remembers a point on the Allied front that had become very "hot." The story had gone down the line that one of the Allied soldiers

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had been crucified and nailed to a barn door. The individuals questioned had not themselves seen the man, but the story, whether true or false, was believed, and the word was passed along, "No more prisoners." I met a young Sunday School teacher from the finest Christian family in his country and asked, "Are you taking any prisoners on this front now?" I shall not forget his mirthless laugh and his hard, cynical reply, "Yes, we take a *few*. We need a few to give us information. But mighty few." Just what does he mean? Here is the father of a family who had been drafted and compelled to fight. He believed the propaganda of his press that he was fighting a defensive war. He is unarmed and trying to surrender, thinking of his wife and children. And your Sunday School teacher drives his bayonet to the heart and leaves that wife a widow and those children orphans.

One young soldier told the writer how hard he found it to do that kind of thing, under orders, *as a Christian*. Would Jesus do it? Would he ask his followers to do it? If not, are such inevitable reprisals of war right or wrong?

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Dr. Fosdick says, "One of our young men came back from France, and, like many others, would not talk. One day his father took him apart and rebuked him for his silence. 'Just one thing I will tell you,' he answered. 'One night I was on patrol in No Man's Land and suddenly I came face to face with a German boy about my own age. It was a question of his life or mine. We fought like wild beasts. When I came back that night, I was covered from head to foot with the blood and brains of that young German boy. We had nothing personally against each other. He did not want to kill me any more than I wanted to kill him. That is war. I did my duty in it, but for God's sake, do not ask me to talk about it. I want to forget it.' "

One nation invented poison gas. Germany sees its menace, perfects it and launches it at Ypres. We and all the world condemn this "atrociousness." But what did we do? We used yet more deadly gas: chlorine, then mustard, then we invented Lewisite, and now there is something even more destructive. Mr. Winston Churchill, formerly First Lord of the British Admiralty, claimed

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that we used every means save torture and cannibalism in the last war.¹

3. *War victimizes both sides by a distorted propaganda.* We cannot successfully run a modern war if we tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. We must always carefully suppress two sets of facts: all generous statements about the foe and all unfavorable reports about ourselves and "our glorious Allies." We cannot induce men to go out and slay millions of their brother men and fellow-Christians unless we deceive them by propaganda. Frederick the Great said, "If my soldiers would really think, not one of them would remain in the ranks."

Our American war correspondent, Will Irwin, in "Christ or Mars," tells us how, when Belgium was divided by the invasion, some hysterical Ger-

¹ "The Great War through which we have passed differed from all ancient wars in the immense power of the combatants and their fearful agencies of destruction, and from all modern wars in the utter ruthlessness with which it was fought. All the horrors of the ages were brought together, and not only armies but whole populations were thrust into the midst of them. ** Every outrage against humanity or international law was repaid by reprisals often on a greater scale and of longer duration. ** When all was over, Torture and Cannibalism were the only two expedients that the civilized, scientific, Christian states had been able to deny themselves; and these were of doubtful utility." "The World Crisis," Winston Churchill, pp. 10, 11.

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man women who had seen things, or thought they had seen things, came in with wild tales regarding their countrywomen who had been violated and had their breasts cut off. This was good grist for the mill of German publicity, and for four years the propaganda of Allied atrocities filled their carefully censored press. Mr. Irwin also tells of a hysterical American woman who came in with a report of a group of twenty Belgian boys who had had their hands cut off. No such child or hand was produced, but this was good propaganda, and for four years this kind of atrocity filled our own pages. Mr. Irwin says, "I laugh now when I remember that I swallowed this yarn whole." He adds that for four years he searched to find a single mutilated Belgian child and says, of course, he never found one. Ex-Premier Nitti says the story was untrue.¹

¹ "All the world believed for a time that the habitual exercise of the Germans in Belgium was to cut off the hands of babies. There was no truth in the story, and there are no more handless babies in Belgium than there are in England or in Germany. The news was false, but the most reputable papers published it; telegraphic agencies spread it broadcast, and thus nourished the mistrust of the world. . . . Lloyd George . . . sent me word that he had not been able to trace a single case of a child's hand having been cut off, in all Belgium. In spite of this, the stupid and wicked lie continues to be spread about." "The Decadence of Europe," Nitti, p. 138. xxviii.

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Sir Philip Gibbs was man enough to come out with his recantation in "Now It Can Be Told," and in numerous articles, with an apology for his part in the campaign of deceit and suppression.¹ Mr. George Creel and the Committee on Public Information, who flooded America with seventy-five million books and pamphlets, say, "There was no medium of appeal that we did not employ." One of their favorite themes was the German submarine atrocities. Admiral Sims, however, now says that "most of the accounts of atrocities popularly attributed to them were untrue." He writes, "I do not blame the newspapers. As far as I know, the newspapers printed the truth as they knew it. Their sources

¹ "Greedy was the appetite of the mob for atrocity tales. The more revolting they were the quicker they were swallowed. The foul absurdity of the 'corpse-factory' was not rejected any more than the tale of the 'crucified Canadian' (disproved by our own G. H. Q.) or the cutting off of children's hands and women's breasts, for which I could find no evidence from the only British ambulances working in the districts where such horrors were reported. ** Hatred at home, inspired largely by feminine hysteria and official propaganda, reached such heights that when fighting-men came back on leave, their refusal to say much against their enemy, their straightforward assertions that 'Fritz' was not so black as he was painted, that he fought bravely, died gamely, and in the prison-camps was well-mannered, decent, industrious, good-natured, were heard with shocked silence by mothers and sisters who could only excuse this absence of hate on the score of war-weariness." "Now It Can Be Told," Philip Gibbs, p. 521.

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of information were men who had made the passage, letters from the other side, and *naval officers on this side*. One of the sacrifices a people necessarily must make during war time is of an accurate knowledge of events. You have got to keep many facts from your own people to keep them from the enemy. It would be extremely unpatriotic for a newspaper to tell the absolute truth about what is taking place during a war, even if the newspaper could get the absolute truth.”¹

If we can make ourselves think that the enemy are “boche,” “swine,” “Huns,” “devils” and “baby killers,” we can believe that we are ren-

¹ “Within the past few months, in speaking to various audiences of the operations of the German submarines, I have stated that *** most of the accounts of atrocities popularly attributed to them were untrue*; that barring the case of the hospital ship, Llandoverly Castle, I did not know of any case where a German submarine commander deliberately fired upon the boats of a torpedoed vessel; that the commanding officer and two other officers of the submarine that torpedoed that vessel were tried in Germany after the war and punished; that the submarine commanders generally acted in a humane manner in carrying out the orders of their Government, in some instances giving the boats of torpedoed merchant vessels food and water and a tow toward land, and sending out wireless signals giving their position. **** If the war is of considerable duration and intensity, the relatively few cases of atrocities are multiplied by the inevitable popular hatred until a general belief is created that all members of the enemy’s forces are just plain beasts.” “The Current History Magazine,” June, 1923, pp. 357, 362. Italics ours.

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dering God service by ridding the world of such demons. But what were the facts? There were a few babies on the "Lusitania" and on several other ships that were destroyed, and some were killed in the air raids. But at the very hour we were rousing ourselves to a fury of righteous indignation to make the world safe against these baby-killers *our Allied hunger blockade was killing many, many times more babies than the enemy ever had a chance to kill.*

Our contention is that war is wrong in its methods of ruthless military necessity, reprisals and counter-reprisals, and distorted propaganda.

IV: WAR IS WRONG IN ITS RESULTS

War is wrong in its results because it is intrinsically, inevitably and utterly destructive. It is destructive of material wealth, of human life and of moral standards. In the end it is futile and suicidal. It is not denied that some good results from war. It would be impossible to have such an outpouring of life and treasure, and such an expenditure of energy, often with lofty motives and for high ends, without having some beneficial consequences. It is maintained, however, that modern war has become so frightfully destructive that the evil far outweighs the good and that it is now no longer, if it ever was, the lesser of two evils.

1. *It destroys material wealth and prosperity.* According to Professor Ernest L. Bogart, in his "Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War," published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, we must add to the

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direct cost of the war of 186 billion dollars the indirect costs, making a total of 337 billions. No human mind can comprehend these figures, but they become more terribly intelligible when we remind ourselves that if we had paid \$20,000 an hour from the birth of Christ until the end of 1925, the war would not yet have been paid for. We burned up \$9,000,000 an hour, or \$215,000,000 a day, in the World War and destroyed the equivalent of the endowment of a great University like Columbia every five hours. After patient, plodding centuries of slow construction, we have at last mastered the art of swift and devastating destruction. And this is not the accident, but is the very essence, of war. America suffered less than almost any other nation and has spent relatively less on armament than the great powers of Europe. Nevertheless, President Harding, who could not be accused of being unpatriotic, said in his Salt Lake City speech of June 26, 1923: "When you stop to think that, when divided up, 85 per cent of American taxes, 85 per cent of the enormous public fund of which I have been speaking, goes to the

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expense and obligations of war, and only 15 per cent to the promotion of ideals and practices of peace, do you not think we ought to play our part, my countrymen, in helping the world to abolish war?"

Colonel Fuller shows that in a single air raid London could be turned into a raving bedlam, high explosives blowing up whole sections of the city, starting a score of fires which could not be put out, as the firemen would be strangled in the poison gas that would follow the high explosive.¹ Thomas A. Edison was recently asked, "Is it true that practically the entire population of London could be killed by gas within twelve hours?" "It is not true," he replied. "The thing could be done *within three hours.*" Rear Admiral William S. Sims, U. S. N., at the annual dinner of the Albany Medical College Alumni

¹ Colonel Fuller says, "I believe that, in future warfare, great cities, such as London, will be attacked from the air, and that a fleet of 500 airplanes, each carrying 500 ten-pound bombs of, let us suppose, mustard gas, might cause 200,000 minor casualties and throw the whole city into a panic within half an hour of their arrival. Picture, if you can, what the result will be: London for several days will be one vast raving bedlam, the hospitals will be stormed, traffic will cease, the homeless will shriek for help, the city will be in pandemonium." "The Reformation of War," p. 150.

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Association, said on June 13, 1922: "If we have another war and if we are attacked, we'll use gas, * * and we won't care how, when or why."

America has now sufficiently perfected an aerial torpedo weighing one or two tons which is self-propelled for a hundred miles, guided by an invisible airman twenty thousand feet up in the blue and, when over the objective, released, to fall with deadly accuracy and destroy a whole section of a teeming city or army.

2. *War is destructive of human life*, the most priceless thing on earth.

Professor Bogart estimates 26,000,000 combatants and non-combatants as the total death toll of the war. This would mean a city of 16,585, like Ithaca, blotted out every day of the war. To this must be added:

20,000,000 wounded

9,000,000 war orphans

5,000,000 war widows

10,000,000 refugees

These appalling figures, however, do not include the indirect losses from revolution, famine

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and pestilence, the increased death rate and the total losses due to the war. According to the Swedish Society for the Study of Social Consequences of the War, the total loss must be put down at 40,000,000 lives.¹ We read with horror of a single human sacrifice offered to Dagon or Moloch, to Baal or Ashtaroath; but what shall we say of this modern offering to the pagan god of war?

It seems almost sacrilegious to put down the boundless destruction of war in a cold mathematical table. Only an infinite mind can comprehend what this means in terms of human suffering. Take the single item of 10,000,000 "refugees." That means ten million human beings driven homeless, and often penniless, out of Armenia, Turkey, Syria, Belgium, France, Russia, East Prussia and the battle areas where armies marched and counter-marched. The writer was in one place in Russia which was taken and re-

¹ The total losses of a few of the countries are as follows:

European Russia	13,000,000	Great Britain	1,850,000
Germany	6,300,000	Serbia	1,650,000
Austria-Hungary ...	5,800,000	Roumania	510,000
France	3,340,000	Belgium	375,000
Italy	2,280,000	Bulgaria	275,000

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taken fifteen times, with all the violence and crime that this implies. He can never forget seeing at a hospital in the Near East a line of little girls, eight, nine and ten years old, who had been violated and left with venereal disease. Well might our American general say that "war is hell." In the light of the facts can any one deny that war is intrinsically and inevitably destructive of human life, the most priceless thing upon this planet?

Moreover, war in the modern world cannot be isolated. The world is now materially unified in a neighborhood; it must either morally be unified in a brotherhood of closer co-operation or destroy itself. The last war that began with a single shot at Serajevo finally involved practically all of Europe and North America, a third of Africa, actively or passively two-thirds of Asia, and the whole of Australasia. As has been pointed out, it destroyed forty million lives and the best male stock of Europe. War has perhaps made almost as rapid strides in the last ten years as in the ten thousand years before the great war, for it is well within the truth

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to say that it has more than doubled in its destructiveness during the decade.

Not only is war terrifically destructive of individual life, but it is on such a scale that it threatens our very civilization as well. After coming out of the Ruhr, during the darkest days of the military occupation of that area, the writer saw Lord Grey. He said, "It looks very dark. Another great war may mean the break-up of civilization in Europe. We may see all over this continent what we have already seen in Russia." A Russian friend, our host in Moscow, had described what that would mean. He said, "We were stalled in the famine area, with snow-drifts above the top of the train and our engine blown up. I could look out of the car windows on the right and count twenty-eight dead bodies starved and frozen stiff in that open car. From the train on the parallel track on the other side, day by day I could see the living push out the dead with their feet, as they starved one by one. While over in that barn, with no time to dig in the frozen ground and bury the dead, when three millions were perishing in the famine, they piled

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the frozen corpses like cordwood." Then he added a thing which one would not have believed save on the testimony of more than one reliable witness. He said, "Those corpses were stolen and eaten! In a few cases frenzied parents ate their own children. Young girls were hanging about the back of restaurants or hotels looking for scraps of food like hungry dogs. Civilization almost went over the brink into barbarism and savagery." And when Lord Grey said that another great war would mean that we would see that kind of thing all over Europe, one began to realize what the aftermath of a world war could be. For more than ten millions are dead in Russia since 1914 of war, revolution, famine, hunger, disease and pestilence.

3. *War is destructive of moral standards.* It has been well said that the first casualty of war is truth; the next is love, then follows liberty, then justice. If war itself is wrong, is unchristian and immoral, it is not strange that a whole brood of resultant evils should follow in its train. Ex-Premier Nitti says, "The losses in human life and property, great as they are, are small

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evils compared to the undermining of morals and the lowering of standards of culture and civilization."

The means of conducting war, according to the war books, are "violence and cunning." It is the making of immorality lawful that is so disastrously demoralizing. Professor Forsyth urges us to "fall back on an inferior ethic and make the best of it." Another Christian leader says, "I admit that war is unchristian, but when war comes, I put my Christianity in my pocket and go out and fight." But is Christianity, or the moral order, a convenience to be pocketed? And what is this boundless evil that prostitutes and violates the highest and holiest things in life? What effect has this not only upon standards of conduct for the nation, but of the Church itself? War is bound to destroy the moral standards if it is founded on "the one act which is the supreme violation of morals—killing," and if it brings all other immoralities in its train. Will Irwin says of the men who went through it all, "Bayonet practice was a most effective piece of 'psychological preparation.' The sergeants in

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charge of this game enacted a kind of hymn of hate, a familiar combination of American oaths shouted to the swing of a rifle. It went like this: 'God' (presents point) 'damn' (swing back) 'you' (thrust). ** How many died with the sergeant's hymn of hate on their lips?"

An American Major in France, now a minister of the Gospel and a personal friend of the writer, tells of the brutalizing effect of war upon men who fight. A number of German soldiers had taken shelter in a dugout and the American soldiers were driving them out with bombs. As they came out, unarmed, with hands up and trying to surrender, they were shot down without mercy, like so many rats in a hole. Similar instances could be multiplied, and they were not all committed by the enemy. Such things are not only brutally wrong, but demoralizing in their after-effects. The crimes of violence that followed the war in all countries where the men fought for four years are well known. Lawlessness, banditry, the habit of appeal to violence, the loss of reverence for human life and for moral standards, are the inevitable results in the case

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of many. A man cannot put off his character, his conscience, and the habits of a lifetime and take a night out, or a day off in debauchery and come back the same man afterward. We reap what we sow, in war as in peace. War leaves its lasting moral scars. The categorical imperative grounded in the moral order of the universe cannot be violated by a carnival of "violence and cunning," of organized mass murder, of reprisals and atrocities and leave individuals or society the same. Participation is bad enough, but the sanctioning and blessing of what is intrinsically immoral is doubly damning.

War demands a moratorium of customary moral standards. Truth must be exchanged for a propaganda of exaggeration or falsehood. A chauvinistic patriotism demands that love must be exorcised by hate. Liberty must be superseded by an autocratic military control of moral conduct, including the compulsory killing of men, the bombing of defenseless cities, destruction by poison gas, and sometimes the killing of defenseless prisoners. Justice gives place to injustice in dealing with an enemy and right-

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eousness all too frequently to immorality. With what result? We are left not only with forty millions dead and many millions wounded, but with a world that is morally crippled and disabled. We may wash our hands like Pilate, we may protest our innocence, but we cannot thus lightly cleanse the stains of this bloody business, the world's "damned spot" of war.

In the thought of Lincoln, forty angels saying so cannot make a thing right if it is wrong. Eighteen centuries of moral blindness and the approval of majorities can no more justify war than slavery. Slavery, though condoned and justified and blessed, ate like a moral cancer into our national life. It degraded the black race and demoralized the white. The story of the sexual immorality of some of our greatest national heroes under slavery can never be written. Neither can the story of the sexual immorality of our armies overseas ever be told. We may deny it or condone it but it was there, none the less. The writer himself held evangelistic meetings during the war not only in the camps but in a number of the venereal hospitals. In

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one place in an army not our own, the commanding officer informed him that over eighty thousand men, up to that date, had been down with venereal disease in that one hospital. It may be said that the hospital referred to was not in our army and that our record of health was the best in the world, and so it was, for we benefited by the experience of others. Our prophylaxis was a fairly effective physical protection. But there was no moral prophylaxis to protect the soul.

Referring to the continental armies under the long strain of fifty-two months of war, Mr. Irwin says, "The authorities began to give frequent leave and to encourage these boys, either openly or tacitly, to 'find a woman' and get thoroughly, satisfactorily drunk. ** Scarcely a hotel in London, Paris, Rome and I suppose Berlin, but knowingly opened its doors to shady characters."

"Now it can be told," and repugnant though it is, the story of the inevitable immorality connected with war must be told. But it cannot be told in war time. It may mean prison or court-martial then. If so, let us face it now and decide whether it is right or wrong, inevi-

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table or preventable. In place of oratorical sentiment, let us give the content of reality to the word "war," so that we shall know just what we mean when we argue for it and when we vote for it. It means for many definite and inevitable immorality.¹ Whether or not we count it the lesser of two evils, when we vote for war we vote for the mass destruction of material wealth, of human life and the abrogation of moral standards that means for millions immoral acts and their immoral consequences.

I fully recognize that neither the position that war is the greater of two evils, nor its opposite, is capable of absolute logical demonstration.

¹ "To destroy the garnered wealth of the world, to condemn to toiling poverty an entire generation of mankind after all is fought out, to ruin every lovely and cherished possession, to put death and destruction everywhere for life and growth, to baffle the march of beneficent evolution, to spoil all the lovely work of the great Handicraftsman, the offspring of the Father of Life, to slay the strongest and degrade the race—this is the purpose and the method of war. This evil end can only be achieved through a moral suicide no less disastrous. In war, hatred becomes a duty, love ridiculous; to win the war by the denial of every spiritual faculty of man is thought to be the only possible course. Falsehood has its place in the military handbooks as a necessary weapon; fraud and force combine. The fellowship of mankind, the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God, is earnestly denied in word and deed. People are always persuaded for military purposes that the foes of the moment are incarnate devils."

"Conscription and Conscience," James W. Graham, p. 31.

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But nothing in my judgment could work worse than war. For it carries with it all other evils in its train—hatred, vengeance, murder, atrocity, falsehood, deceit, sexual passion; the defense of evil, the searing of conscience, the loss of moral standards; disease, famine, poverty, despair; violence, revolution, lawlessness, crime and death. What evil is wanting that war does not multiply and intensify? What good does it accomplish that could not be better won by peace?

4. *Modern war is futile and suicidal.* After all our war aims, our proclamations, our protestations of high motives and ends, what in reality has the last war settled? It was a “war to end war.” Did it in fact end war, or start a score of lesser conflicts and sow the dragon’s teeth of as many future wars in a “peace of violence”?

Napoleon said, “I doubt if war ever really settled anything. It unsettles everything. . . . The more I study the world, the more I am convinced of the inability of brute force to create anything durable.”

The war was fought “to protect womanhood.”

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Was it a ghastly jest that after millions of women slain by war, famine and pestilence, and an unnumbered multitude violated, there were left five million war widows, ten million refugees, and nearly twenty million women who could have no home of their own because that number of men are dead?¹

It was a war "to make the world safe for democracy." But has it made it safe for anything? The "World Alliance," uniting twenty-six nations, declares that "Large armies and navies are a sure provocation of war." General F. B. Maurice shows the futility of preparedness: "I went into the British Army believing that if you want peace you must prepare for war. I believe now that if you prepare for war you will get war."² If the world sows preparedness it reaps

¹ "A modern war to protect the weak—that is a grim joke! Look at the facts of the last war. This is the way it protected the weak: 10,000,000 known dead soldiers; 3,000,000 presumed dead soldiers; 13,000,000 dead civilians; 20,000,000 wounded; 3,000,000 prisoners; 9,000,000 war orphans; 5,000,000 war widows; 10,000,000 refugees. What do you mean—modern war protecting the weak? The Turks have slaughtered Armenians with an abandon and freedom not known before, since we fought a war to protect the weak. This is the conviction that grows in modern minds: war is no way to protect the weak." "A Christian Crusade Against War," Harry Emerson Fosdick.

² Benjamin Disraeli wrote, "Wherever there is a vast standing army, the government is the government of the sword. ** They must obey one man and that man is master."

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combat; if it sows combat it reaps further preparedness.

War is not only futile but suicidal. It has become destructive on such a vast and rapidly growing scale that it now threatens our very civilization. Lloyd George says, "If the churches of Christ throughout Europe and America allow that (another war) to fructify, they had better close their doors. The next war, if it comes, will be against civilization itself. What I saw of the war, day by day, makes me vow that I will consecrate what is left of my energies to make it impossible that humanity shall in the future have to pass through the fire, the terrors, the cruelty, the horror and the squalor of war." And Lord Bryce's words are almost too familiar to quote: "If we do not destroy war, war will destroy us." Lord Haig, the British Commander, came back from the war to ask the churches of Britain for a crusade against this menace, saying, "It is the business of the churches to make my business impossible."

It is General Pershing who said, "It would appear that the lessons of the last six years

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should be enough to convince everybody of the danger of nations striding up and down the earth armed to the teeth. . . . We may well ask ourselves whether civilization does not really reach a point where it begins to destroy itself and whether we are thus doomed to go headlong down through destructive war and darkness to barbarism.” General Tasker H. Bliss shows in “What Really Happened at Paris” the costs of the Great War.¹ And then he writes this solemn letter to the churches of America: “The responsibility is entirely on the professing Christians of the United States. If another war like the last one should come, they will be responsible for every drop of blood that will be shed.”

It is our contention that war is wrong in its results as inevitably destructive of wealth, of human life, of moral standards; and that it is futile and suicidal.

¹ “Total deaths in battle	9,998,771
Number wounded	20,297,551
Prisoners and missing	5,983,600
Total cost	\$337,946,179,657

“What Really Happened at Paris,” General Tasker H. Bliss,
p. 385.

V: WAR IS UNCHRISTIAN

It is the utmost negation of Jesus' way of life. Well may Fosdick say, "War is the most colossal and ruinous social sin that afflicts mankind today; it is utterly and irremediably unchristian." With this judgment, the pronouncements of the leading denominations are in agreement, and the Federal Council of Churches says it is "the world's chief collective sin. We are convinced that the whole war system of the nations is unnecessary and unchristian." The Christian conscience is asserting itself in the condemnation of war by the rising idealism of youth in our day, as in the Methodist Student Convention at Louisville, April 18-20, 1924, which declared, "War is the greatest of all crimes, because it includes all crimes."

Whatever else it is or is not, it can hardly be successfully denied that war is unchristian. From his third temptation in the wilderness to

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the cross of Calvary, Jesus' life and teaching are the absolute antithesis of the spirit and example of the Zealots and militarists about him.¹ He steadfastly refused to advance his ideals by coercive means.

It is in his cross that the whole life and teaching of Jesus are focused and the nature of God is revealed. Here man's sin is shown and God's way of dealing with it. "Love your enemies ** that ye may be sons of your Father in heaven." Evil is to be overcome, not by retaliation and retribution but by vicarious self-sacrifice. Man is not to retaliate, "eye for eye, tooth for tooth," hate for hate, war for war. He is to overcome evil with good. His act is to be determined, not by his enemy's evil but by his own good, not by the hate of his foe, but by the love of his Father, in heaven, "who maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth his rain on the just and the unjust."

¹ In 45 B. C., Ezechias of Galilee led a political revolt. When Jesus was twelve years old, Judas of Galilee led a revolutionary movement against the Romans. (Acts 5:37.) At the time of Jesus' death, Barabbas was in prison for insurrection and was released in place of Jesus. In 44 A. D. the Jewish-Roman war began and at its culmination in 70 A. D. Jerusalem was destroyed, and the population slain, crucified or sold into slavery. "Toward the Understanding of Jesus," V. G. Simkhovitch.

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In the cross God himself turns the other cheek to humanity. Jesus launches his "great offensive" of love. Man sees the power of moral suasion pitted against physical force, love against hate, good against evil. And here he sees not only what ultimate moral evil is, but how to overcome it. In the cross, history reaches its climax. Humanity stands here at the cross-roads. There are but two ways, two masters. And each man must take his choice between them. Each age faces one supreme moral issue. For our time that issue is war. It is Caesar or Christ, man's way or God's, the appeal to force as ultimate power or to organized goodwill, war or peace.

While we agree with Kropotkin in the mutual aid principle that runs through lower forms of life, and while we do not believe at all that human nature is inherently evil, yet the primitive man, whether living in 5000 B. C. or 1925 A. D., sees all life as a battle ground. The brute, the savage within him, is claimant for the struggle for life and for warfare between individuals, classes, races, nations; for strife in the sphere of indus-

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try, race and religion. Life to him is a fight based on the primal urge of his animal nature. Jesus dares to oppose this primal instinct and the whole social order based upon the acquisitive and predatory tendencies in man. *He sees life not as a savage battlefield but as a human family.* He views it not as a class struggle, a racial strife, an imperial conquest, an armed preparation for devastating war. He sees a divine purpose, a "labor working to an end," a heavenly Father's love and a Kingdom of indomitable goodwill. Into this world of strife he launches his daring innovation of a life of love.

In Prague you see the old castle from which the men were thrown out in an act of violence that launched the Thirty Years' War, that devastated wide areas of Europe, and whose effects, could we but trace them, still continue in that war-torn continent. In Jerusalem, without that city wall, you see the spot where One launched a new way of life and turned the other cheek to humanity.

Jesus' teaching and example were understood as opposed to war by his followers and the early

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Church. Professor Harnack says that up to 150 A. D., "the possibility of the Christian as a soldier did not exist." "The early Christian church was the first peace society." The Christians refused to take part in the defense of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. when it was destroyed and even as they had been warned to "flee to the mountains," withdrew to Perea beyond Jordan. According to Justin Martyr (114-165 A. D.) the spirit of war and the spirit of Jesus are absolutely irreconcilable. Tertullian (145-220 A. D.) holds that a Christian should leave the army at once. Origen (230 A. D.) defied imperial conscription and his contemporary, Cyprian (200-258 A. D.), maintained that war is wholesale murder. "Homicide is a crime when individuals commit it, it is called a virtue when it is called on publicly."¹ Arnobius and Lactantius (300 A. D.) both denounce war. In many instances Christians threw down their arms, saying, "I am a Christian and therefore I cannot fight."

¹ "The Early Christian Attitude Toward War," C. J. Cadoux, pp. 52, 245. He says, "In the third century the conviction that Christianity was incompatible with the shedding of blood ** was widely held and acted on in churches up and down Christendom."

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“With one or two possible exceptions no soldier joined the Church and remained a soldier until the time of Marcus Aurelius (161-181 A. D.). Even then refusal to serve we know to be the normal policy of Christians as the reproaches of Celsus testify.”¹

Celsus asks the Christians what would happen to the empire if all citizens like them refused to take up arms. The Council at Nicaea (325 A. D.) refers to “those who being called by grace, have first shown their zeal and faith by abandoning the military profession, but afterwards have returned to it like dogs to their vomit. Let them be ‘hearers’ for three years and ‘penitent’ for ten years.”

But when Constantine, the head of the army, became the virtual head of the Church, when the state took charge of religious affairs, the process of the nationalization and militarization of the Church began, and the influence of this semi-pagan movement has continued until this day. The cross now became under Constantine an im-

¹ “The Early Christian Attitude Toward War,” C. J. Cadoux, pp. 52, 245.

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perial military emblem, bringing victory as a talisman of war. The official Church became at times the rubber stamp of the state. Athanasius is now ready to say, "To destroy opponents in war is lawful and worthy of praise." By 416 A. D. non-christians were forbidden to serve in the army; "so the meek and peaceful Jesus became a God of battle," and the cross an emblem of war. And even in our day the greatest armies and navies in the world are in the countries where there are the greatest number of Christians. John Morley is able to say, in the opening chapter of his volume on Voltaire, that "more blood has been shed for the cause of Christianity than for any other cause whatsoever." And Mr. Lecky states that "with the exception of Mohammedanism, no other religion has done so much to produce war as was done by the religious teachers of Christendom during several centuries."

For fifteen centuries the official Church lost its conscience upon the subject of war. Only here and there a prophet or reformer raised his voice in protest, such as Francis of Assisi, John

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Wyclif, Peter Waldo, George Fox, William Penn, William Lloyd Garrison, Whittier, Tolstoi, the Moravians and the Society of Friends. Six centuries ago Dante called attention to the failure of Christianity to fulfill to mankind the promise of "peace on earth" made at the birth of Christ.

But today the Church is awakening. Humanity is being stirred. Jesus Christ, once crucified and long neglected, but still the conscience of the race, is reasserting his call to peace.

In conclusion, we maintain that war is unchristian. It is the antithesis of everything for which Jesus stood. The essence of Jesus' message was love; the dominant motive of war is hate. Jesus teaches the infinite worth of personality. Nothing cheapens or destroys personality so much as war, making men targets, "gun-fodder," enemies, anything but what they are in his view, sons of God.¹

¹ Fosdick quotes a letter from an officer, which reads: "An enemy mine exploded here a few days ago and buried our brigade. Many of the men were killed but some of them were not much hurt, so we dug them out and used them over again." Fosdick adds: "Sons of God and brothers of Jesus Christ—'dug them out and used them over again.' That is war."

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Jesus taught the Fatherhood of a God of love; war enthrones a tribal God of exclusive nationalism. Jesus taught brotherhood; war is the uttermost denial of brotherhood in its mass murder and destruction. The heart of Jesus' philosophy of life is self-sacrifice— "He that saveth his life shall lose it;" the inevitable nature of war is the destruction and sacrifice of others. Jesus taught the overcoming of evil with good, without the retaliation of vengeance or hatred or vindictive reprisal. "I tell you not to resist injury. ** Love your enemies and pray for your persecutors." Can we love the man whom we gas, or bomb, or bayonet? Can we bring ourselves to believe that this is what Jesus meant by love?

In a word, Jesus teaches the way of the cross; war is the way of the sword. Jesus comes that men may have life; war is organized for death. Jesus launches in the world his great offensive of love, of positive goodwill; war is the reprisal of vindictive destruction. Jesus seeks a kingdom of Heaven; war is a method of hell.

On moral grounds the case against war has now been briefly stated. Speaking for myself,

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I have come slowly and unwillingly to the conclusion that modern war is always wrong. It is wrong in its *methods*, as giving free rein to an irresponsible national sovereignty under a military necessity that knows no law, where might makes right and the moral law is abrogated; in employing untruth and deceptive half-truth as the essential methods of a distorted propaganda; and in the creation of hatred, leading inevitably to retaliation, reprisals and atrocities. It is wrong in its *results* as intrinsically and inevitably destructive—of material wealth, of human life and of moral standards. It is, moreover, futile and suicidal. Therefore war is unchristian and morally wrong as the utter negation of Jesus' way of life, the utmost antithesis to all his teaching, the denial of his cross and of the ultimate nature of God himself, as love.

Upon these grounds I finally renounce war. I will take no further part in it. I will not sanction or bless any future war between nations. I will strive with a large and rapidly increasing number of Christians to lead the Church to excommunicate it, that the state may finally out-

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law it and make it as illegal as slavery, the duel, highway robbery or private murder. I will strive with all men of goodwill for the removal of the causes of war, the creation of an international mind and a growing sense of world brotherhood, and for the strengthening of such international agencies of justice as the World Court and the League of Nations. In this discussion I have chiefly confined myself to stating the case against war, as a foundation upon which to build a positive and constructive program for abolishing it. This does not mean that I am less interested in constructive measures which are left to be dealt with in the second part of this book.

After examining all the evidence, the teaching of history, the nature and results of modern war, it finally comes down to an act of faith. A man believes, at the last, that either force or moral suasion is more effective in a given situation; either material or spiritual means will best work; either Jesus' way of life is practical or it is not. Faith is the giving of substance, or the proving in final experience, of things still

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hoped for and unseen. And peace is of such stuff as dreams are made of. Yet it must be made as solid and substantial as freedom, that was once but a dream under slavery and the tyrannies of the past. The same undaunted faith that challenged and assailed other age-long evils now throws down the gauntlet to war. Though it were as old as time, armored with its vested interests as was slavery, backed by the might of all the armies and governments on earth, though it be blessed by pulpits, advocated by the propaganda of publicists and politicians, we challenge here and now this Goliath of war. Joyfully we will cast in our lot with Jesus and his way of life and stake our lives upon his way of love and moral suasion.

In finally accepting his way of life for all things and for all time, I have found stable moral equilibrium. For the rest, I believe his principles will work, in so far as we honestly apply them, as well in our lives as in his. He is what I mean by success, and his cross is what I mean by victory.

It does not yet appear what the final effect of

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that way of life shall be. But *now* are we the sons of God? The call comes to every individual who dares to trust this way of life to cast in his lot with the Galilean who still has not where to lay his head in a warring world. "Happy are the poor in spirit. Happy are the gentle for they shall inherit the earth. Happy are the makers of peace for they shall be called the sons of God." The Son of God goes forth—to peace! Who follows in his train?

VI: FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE

The case against war inevitably involves the question of freedom of conscience. If war is morally wrong and unchristian, is the individual conscience free to repudiate it and abstain from it? Or is the state, as Hegel maintained, according to the Prussian view, the sole, supreme and self-contained social organization, a concrete part of the Absolute, before which the citizen has no will worth while, apart from the whole? If ten men are called to the colors and nine feel that they should go to war, while the tenth feels that he cannot violate his conscience, abrogate Jesus' way of life, or engage in what he regards as public murder any more than he could in private murder, should he obey the call of the state or of his conscience? We are aware of the gravity and complexity of this problem and that there is no easy solution.

We recognize at the outset the necessity of

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the state. Including within its borders many voluntary forms of association, this wider union of men in fellowship and co-operation in a nation is necessary "for the common good." And the indispensable organ of the nation is the state. We have yet to realize that more inclusive ideal, "Above all nations is humanity." In the meantime experience has proved the validity and authority of the family, the church and the state. But the authority of each is relative in its own sphere; it is not absolute.

Between order and freedom the state is ever between Scylla and Charybdis, a right hand and a left hand danger. On the one hand, if the state has all power it becomes an insufferable tyranny, as in Russia, both under the Czar and under military Communism. On the other hand, if the individual has all power and the state has none, it becomes a yet more disastrous anarchy, and chaos results. We must find some middle ground where the authority of the state is recognized in legitimate political activity for the common good, but where it does not trespass upon the personal freedom of the individual

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conscience, in the home and in the church. The state is the community organized for civic ends; the church is the community organized for religious ends. The church exists to carry on the work of redemption, and is not the rubber stamp of the state. It is autonomous in the moral and spiritual sphere.¹

A state is a territory over which there is a government claiming sovereignty. Sovereignty is the ability to secure general assent. There is no sanction for law save the consent of the human mind. The safeguards of the state are the wills of its members. Sovereignty resides in the whole people, while the actual government is usually controlled by the minority which is best able to manipulate the inert mass. Statesmen no longer, however, dare use the language of Burke and refer to "the swinish multitude."

¹ Dr. S. Parkes Cadman writes of "the liberty of the sons of God which they enjoy in heart, reason and conscience through faith in Christ. No lower form of authority should be allowed to usurp its sway over the entire life of Christian citizenship. ** The Protestantism which accepts the challenge of the New Testament faith must always resist theories that insist on the sovereignty of the democratic state as the organ of the popular will. *** His church alone determines the nature and application of her own religious convictions and beliefs." "Christianity and the State," pp. 328, 329.

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Cicero long ago showed that the highest law derives from the welfare of the people. It is an expression of general consent to measures which meet the general need. Right is that which should be granted because experience has proved it to be good; it must validate itself. There is no divine right either in kings or in democratic majorities. Both have frequently been wrong and the great advances of history have been made by individuals or groups who were unswept by the mob mind, or who dared resist the authority of church or state when they became tyrannical. "That state will be the stronger which binds to itself its members by the strength of a moral purpose validated. . . . The legal sovereignty of a state is not identical with its moral sovereignty. Government does not stand above the moral code of individuals."¹

¹ We are indebted here to "The Problem of Sovereignty," p. 19; and "Foundations of Sovereignty," pp. 8-39, 211-214, by H. J. Laski. "All great advances in human history have been made possible because individual men and women have acted on what they believed to be true whether it was popular or unpopular, whether it was safe or perilous, and most often when it was both unpopular and perilous. ** Disarmament will come about when a sufficient number of people refuse any longer to bear arms, to manufacture armament, or to ask for armed protection." "To deny its (conscience's) authority is therefore to deprive a man of his moral personality. ** To deny it is to commit moral suicide,

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The state is only one association among many and it must be judged by what it does for the community. The purpose of the state is to help the individual to be his best self and to enable all to live the "good life." But right cannot be determined by a majority vote. As between the state and the individual, the individual has no right that does not involve social good, while the state has no right of moral coercion over the individual conscience. It is difficult to draw the line of rights and duties between the two. As Justice Holmes points out, it must be pricked out in human experience on both sides.

We must distinguish between the nation and the state. Patriotism or love of country must not be identified with loyalty to the state. A time comes when a man can best serve his country by resisting its government, as in the case of Cromwell, Hampden, Washington and the signers of the Declaration of Independence, or Garrison on the question of slavery.¹ Thus the

to move toward utter degradation." "The Problem of Sovereignty," pp. 39, 42.

¹ Thus James Madison pointed out in 1799, "In the United States the people, and not the government, possess the absolute sovereignty, and the legislature or the executive is under limita-

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Report of the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, held in England in 1924, says, "Even when the Government is dominated by public opinion and popular sentiment, no such infallibility can be claimed for it as to forbid the independent judgment of the individual conscience, even admitting that that too may and does often err. Still less can the state claim such absolute moral authority, when the machinery of government is, as sometimes happens, being used by politicians for their own individual interests, or the interests of a class or a group."

Dr. Charles E. Jefferson says, "This love of country will sometimes lead a citizen to resist the authority of Caesar. No government is given authority by God to force men to do what they believe is wrong. The apostles at the very start had to face the question whether they were to hearken to the civil rulers rather than to God. They settled it then and there, and they settled it right."

tions of power. ** The American Revolution transformed into a working reality the view that the government was servant and therefore subjected to blame from its master, the people."

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Zechariah Chaffee, Professor of Law in Harvard University, says in his "Freedom of Speech:" "It is true that a majority decision is the best way of determining how the government shall act, but it is not the best way of deciding what is right."

We claim the right of liberty of conscience on two grounds; as a human right, and as a Christian right.

1. *As a human right*, we base the claim to liberty of conscience on the slow and painful achievement of our common humanity, won through long centuries in the field of conflict between authority and freedom. The fight for freedom of thought began twenty-five centuries ago among the Greeks of Ionia. It came to a climax at the trial of Socrates twenty-three centuries ago, in 399 B. C. The twofold issue was freedom of speech and freedom of conscience. He maintained the *supremacy of the individual conscience*, that a man cannot be coerced by any human authority into any course which his own mind condemns as wrong; and *the public value*

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of free discussion. He says, "The sun might as easily be spared from the universe as free speech from the liberal institutions of society."¹ At the age of seventy, this reformer and philosopher of Athens was arraigned before his 501 judges on the nominal charge of being an atheist and a corrupter of youth. In his noble Apology he says, "If you propose to acquit me on condition that I abandon my search for truth, I will say: I thank you, O Athenians, but I will obey God, who as I believe set me this task, rather than you."

For twenty-three centuries since Socrates, a long line of martyrs has maintained the human right of freedom of conscience. The Stoics upheld individual right against public authority, and the Roman Republic allowed full liberty of opinion. When Christianity became the one exception, punishable with death, thousands laid down their lives rather than yield to the authority of the state in the worship of the emperor or by taking service in the army. Their stand for

¹"History of Freedom of Thought," J. B. Bury, pp. 31-38.

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liberty of conscience at last won the edict of toleration in 311 A. D.

Liberty of conscience was held against the tortures of the Inquisition. The Renaissance from the thirteenth century won back for Europe intellectual freedom, and the Reformation won moral freedom, by a long line of martyrs. John Huss was burned in 1415; Savonarola in 1498; Servetus by Calvin in 1553 because he doubted the doctrine of the Trinity; Giordano Bruno in 1600 in Rome for his heresies of belief in the science of Copernicus, etc.

The Puritans fled to America in 1620 to escape the persecution of church and state. America was founded on the belief in liberty of conscience. Roger Williams at Providence was the first completely to separate church and state and allow full toleration for Anglicans, Catholics, Baptists and Quakers. Complete toleration was established by Penn in the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania in 1682.

In the meantime the fight for liberty of conscience was being carried on in England. John Milton wrote his "Areopagitica," "a speech for

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the liberty of unlicensed printing," in 1644.¹ John Locke followed with his "Letter Concerning Toleration." John Stuart Mill published his essay "On Liberty" in 1859.

Following his theses of 1517, Luther wrote his noble "Liberty of a Christian Man," and "On the Secular State: How Far Obedience Is Due to It." He says, "God cannot and will not allow any one but himself to rule the soul and if the temporal authority encroaches on the spiritual domain it is impotent." Facing the Emperor Charles V and the representative of the Pope at Worms in 1521, Luther stands for freedom of conscience against church and state, alone if need be against the world.

There has always been a danger of the encroachments of the state upon personal rights from the time of the Pharaohs who built the pyramids of Egypt by slave labor, to Louis XIV, who claimed, "I am the State," and even to the democratic majorities of our own day.

¹ "And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter?" "Areopagitica."

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As Mr. Hughes well says, "The voice of the majority is that neither of God nor of the devil, but of man." If fifty-one per cent of the Senate, including those interested in the manufacturing of munitions, vote for war I cannot on that account surrender to them the control of my conscience upon a moral issue.

The fight for liberty as a legal right has been a long one. The writer stood recently in the British Museum before the old original parchment containing the demands of the Barons in 1215, which formed the basis of the Great Charter of Anglo-Saxon liberties, "to all freemen, ** for us and our heirs forever, ** to have and to hold."¹

Our ancient Anglo-Saxon rights of liberty are reasserted in our own Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776.² They are further defined

¹ "Wherefore we will and firmly enjoin, that the Church ** be free, and that all men in our kingdom have and hold the aforesaid liberties, rights and concessions, well and in peace, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, to them and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places, forever." Magna Carta, Article 71.

² "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government

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in our Constitution.¹ In our state constitutions, twenty-six states declare in substance that it is the privilege of "every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience." Nineteen declare that "no human authority ought to control, or interfere with, the rights of conscience." Nine ordain that "no person may be molested in person or estate on account of religion." Thomas Jefferson drew up the statute for the constitution of Virginia in 1776 for religious freedom, "Whereas, Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy," etc.

In 1676, William Penn had expressed the same ideal in the Constitution of New Jersey,

becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government."

¹ Amendment I: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for redress of grievances."

Amendment IV: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."

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“No men or number of men on earth have power or authority to rule over man’s conscience in religious matters.”

Attorney General Stone, while Dean of the Columbia Law School, with Judge Julian Mack, of Chicago, made an official investigation of “conscientious objectors” for the Wilson Administration during the war. In a remarkable article on the subject of dealing with conscientious objectors, he says, “Both sound morals and sound policy require that the State should not violate the conscience of the individual. All our history gives confirmation of the view that liberty of conscience has a moral and social value which makes it worthy of preservation at the hands of the State. . . . When one realizes the seriousness of their purpose and the power of their influence . . . he can have no illusion that the mere application of force to them (conscientious objectors) . . . will bring any real solution of the problem. . . . Not a few of them were sentenced to be ‘shot to death by musketry,’ or for long terms of imprisonment by courts-martial for disobedience to military orders, and all were

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subjected to indignities, and in many cases to physical violence by their more patriotic fellows, . . . As was to be expected, cowards and slackers sought refuge among them, but the number of such was much smaller than has generally been supposed. . . . Most of them, at least of the religious objectors, were neither physical nor moral cowards. . . . One of them, Richard L. Stierheim, was drafted and sent overseas before the Government had provided any means for relief for the conscientious objector. In France, he refused to perform military service and deserted. He was tried by court-martial for desertion, convicted and sentenced to death. While awaiting execution of sentence, on November 3, 1918, as reported by the commanding General, he volunteered to go out into No Man's Land, at imminent peril of his life, to rescue the wounded. He rescued six men, unassisted, under machine-gun fire. He then volunteered to go into No Man's Land to bury the dead, and for nine successive days he continued to render service of this character, exposing himself unhesitatingly to imminent peril of death

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in the aid and succor of wounded men. General Pershing forwarded his record to the Judge Advocate-General with the recommendation that his sentence be remitted and that he be assigned to duty with the non-combatant service."

It is against the background of twenty-three centuries of the human fight for freedom, of a thousand years of struggle in Anglo-Saxon countries for religious and political liberty, and of three centuries of American traditions that we claim the right of liberty of conscience on moral issues in peace or in war.

2. *As a Christian right*, we base the claim of liberty of conscience upon the supreme authority of Jesus Christ in the moral sphere. He claims to be Lord and Master here and allows no divided allegiance, no two masters. His is the moral categorical imperative. "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me;" and by implication, he that loveth city or country more than me is not worthy of me.¹

¹ Matt. 10:37.

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If Jesus had been summoned before Caesar, or his representative Pilate, or the Sanhedrin, and had been called to service in the Roman legions or to the defense of the walls of Jerusalem, would he have obeyed what he considered the call of God or man, the state or his conscience? If his disciples had been summoned before the Sanhedrin and called to service in war would they not have answered, as they did when forbidden freedom of speech to teach in his name, "Whether it is right in the sight of God to hearken unto you rather than unto God, judge ye. . . . We must obey God rather than men."¹

If the Kaiser calls a German Christian to fight for the fatherland and the latter, after having thought the whole question through deliberately and conscientiously, cannot do so without violating his conscience, is he under moral obligation to obey the Kaiser, which is the German word for Caesar, or to obey Christ? If the commander who sank the Lusitania is under orders from the Kaiser and Admiral Tirpitz to

¹ Acts 4:19, 5:29.

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sink the ship, but hears the still small voice of conscience telling him to save the women and children, is he under moral obligation to obey Caesar or Christ?

If the Czar, which is the Russian name for Caesar, should call you to serve with the fifteen millions of Russians in the last war, would you be under moral obligation to obey Christ or Caesar, God or man, the state or the enlightened Christian conscience?¹

If you were called to serve in the Red Army under the present government of Russia, and there were no other government in sight that could preserve law and order, and if you differed fundamentally with its principles and practices, would you be under obligation to fight or to obey your conscience?

If you had been in England at the time of

¹ In 1917 the Russian General Sukhomlinov boasted: "I knew that the responsibility rested on me and I gave orders that mobilization should not be suspended. ** On the next morning, I lied to His Majesty. ** On this day I nearly lost my reason. I knew that mobilization was in full swing and that it was impossible to stop it. Fortunately, on the same day the Tsar was convinced afresh, and I was thanked for the good execution of mobilization; otherwise I should have been in jail long ago." American Historical Review, Vol. 26, p. 249.

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the Boer War, and Lloyd George and Ramsay MacDonald, both of whom later became prime ministers, had spoken out with many others against the war on moral grounds, would you maintain the ultimate supremacy of the state or of the Christian conscience?

If you had lived at the time of our Mexican war, which was condemned by Abraham Lincoln, General Grant and others, and you had believed it to be unjust, would you have been disloyal if you had spoken out against the war, or is the state absolute and supreme in war and peace? ¹

If Fall, who while Secretary of the Interior seemed most anxious to have us go down and "clean up Mexico," had succeeded in his aims, with Daugherty, Doheny, Sinclair and the yellow press in full cry, would you be under obliga-

¹ Of the Mexican War, so unpopular and so criticized in some sections of the country, James Russell Lowell wrote, "Ez for war, I call it murder." Theodore Parker wrote concerning it, "Your President tells us it is treason to talk so! Treason is it? Treason to discuss a war which the government made and which the people are made to pay for? Why, if the people cannot discuss the war they have got to fight and pay for, who under heaven can? Whose business is it if it is not yours and mine?" Henry David Thoreau said, "In an age when injustice is done the only place for a just man is in prison."

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tion to obey the state or your Christian conscience in such an event?

Or let us suppose that in the scramble for the final oil reserves of the world the United States should fall out with Great Britain, which God forbid, and suppose the press of both countries should represent the issue as a "defensive" war for our rights of property, of life, and of "national honor," which so often means national greed or economic imperialism, would you go out and take part in a war for oil, and leave millions dead? Or would you demand that the question should be left to the World Court, or the League of Nations, or other method of arbitration? Would you say that any power that insisted on the use of violence and refused arbitration was in the wrong in its methods, whether "my country" or another?

Or let us suppose a war for a righteous end, in a cause similar to that of the last war. If you believe that warfare between modern nations is wrong in its methods and in its results and that it is unchristian, which would you count

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supreme on a moral issue, the state or the autonomous Christian conscience?

The exact line of demarcation between the right of the state and the right of the individual in matters of conscience has not been clearly defined in law. Until war is outlawed, I admit the *legal* right of the state to declare war and to pass a law conscripting the man power and the money power of the nation. But I hold to my ultimate *moral* right to refuse conscription on a fundamental moral issue. I believe in an adequate police force, municipal, national and, with adequate safeguards, international. I would make full provision for the state and the protection of life and property. I would render to Caesar, in the duty of good citizenship, the things that are Caesar's. But I must render to God the things that are God's; and nothing is more his than the moral sphere of the conscience. If the secular government is supreme here we have displaced God from the holy of holies of religion and have enthroned instead the idolatry of the state.

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For myself, I believe in liberty of conscience on a moral issue. If ten men are called to the colors and nine feel they should go, I believe they should follow their conscience. If the tenth feels that he can no more commit what is to him public murder than he could private homicide, I believe that he too, as well as the other nine, should follow his conscience. I believe he should say, "I love my country and will gladly give my life for it in the only way which I believe is effective. As a conscientious objector I will cheerfully submit to any penalty of the law, to imprisonment or to death. I am ready to die but not to kill; to take up the cross but not the sword. With Luther I say, 'I cannot submit my faith to any external authority. . . . I neither can nor will retract anything; for it cannot be right for a Christian man to speak against his conscience. . . . Here I stand, I can say no other. God help me. Amen.'"

Our own government admitted the principle of the genuine conscientious objector in the last war and exempted from combatant service all

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Quakers, Mennonites and members of churches which had officially taken a stand against war, together with certain individuals who convinced the authorities of their conscientious scruples in the matter. Great Britain admitted the principle by establishing special courts to examine all individual conscientious objectors and sift them out from slackers and cowards. Doubtless a refusal to engage in war will seem to many today as impractical, as visionary, as unpatriotic and as disloyal as the stand taken by Jesus and his followers for the first three centuries seemed both to the Roman state and to the Jewish Church. "If thou release this man thou art not Caesar's friend. ** We have no king but Caesar. ** Crucify him. Crucify him." So cried the religious people of his day, and so many of them will cry again when the final issue comes between Christ and Caesar.

In the last war a few score of genuine conscientious objectors went to prison for their faith. It is only fair to tell the government frankly in advance that in the next war, not a few score, but

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many thousands will gladly go to prison or to death rather than take any destructive part in what they believe, with the Federal Council of Churches, "is the world's chief collective sin."¹

¹ See Question 39, Part II, for statements on this point adopted by various church bodies. Tribunals in Great Britain to examine appeals for the exemption of conscientious objectors were justified by Mr. Asquith, and by Lord Courtney in the House of Lords, on grounds of precedent. In 1580 exemption was granted to Mennonites in Holland in the wars against Philipp II; similar exemption to certain conscientious objectors was granted by Catharine of Russia in 1775, by Napoleon in France, and later by Pitt in England. Lord Chatham would have refused to serve against the American colonies in 1776. In Great Britain during the last war there were 16,100 conscientious objectors of whom some 1350 were absolutists; 71 of these died as the result of imprisonment before or after their release. In the United States, according to the War Department there were 3989 conscientious objectors out of 2,810,296 men. Of these 450 were sent to prison by court martial.

PART II: *Questions and Answers*
Concerning War

BY KIRBY PAGE

PART II: *Questions and Answers* *Concerning War*

INTRODUCTION

For about eight years I have been speaking constantly on the subject of war. Many of these meetings have been followed by questions and discussion from the floor. I have also had innumerable personal conversations upon the subject. This experience has convinced me that the use of questions and answers is one of the most effective means of exchanging ideas. And so it has seemed worth while to list some of the questions which have been asked again and again and to write down my own answers to them. In doing this a certain amount of repetition has been unavoidable.

My attitude toward methods of seeking a warless world has been misunderstood and misrepresented so frequently that I feel impelled

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at this point to summarize the steps which seem to me to be essential if war is to be abolished: (1) Create, strengthen and abide by the decisions of appropriate agencies of international justice, i.e., the World Court, the League of Nations, etc.; (2) remove or deal adequately with the causes of war; (3) create the international mind and the international heart; (4) outlaw war; (5) repudiate and abandon the whole war system. No one of these measures in itself is adequate. All of them are essential to permanent peace. Therefore, it is the part of wisdom to create public opinion in favor of all of them. That is to say, I believe in advocating a positive and a negative program at the same time. *Any plan that falls short of the complete repudiation of the whole war system cannot generate the enthusiasm and sacrificial devotion needed in this greatest moral crusade of our generation.* For this reason, we are seeking to create public opinion in favor of the necessary constructive measures and *simultaneously* are emphasizing the necessity of outlawing and abandoning the whole war system.

I: THE USE OF FORCE, POLICE AND WAR

1. *Would you use force in defending the helpless?*

“What would you do if you saw a big brute of a man attacking a helpless woman?” If all efforts at persuasion were unsuccessful, I should not hesitate to use physical force in attempting to protect her. That is to say, I am unable to accept the doctrine of Tolstoi that the use of force is intrinsically wrong. To me the use of force is non-moral; it is good or bad depending upon the motive behind its use and the effects of its application. It seems obvious that in our modern world at least a measure of physical restraint is absolutely necessary in extreme cases in dealing with vicious persons and with those who are temporarily lacking in self-control—persons drunk with liquor, with passion, with

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hatred. In such cases the use of restraining force may not only protect the helpless but also have a redemptive effect upon the aggressor. It must be admitted, however, that the tendency of our day is to use force too easily and too frequently, without making full use of non-violent means of resisting evildoers.

It should be pointed out, moreover, that the use of force in protecting a helpless woman from a big brute is not a true parallel to modern war. In order to find such a parallel, it would be necessary to assume that in seeking to protect a helpless woman we would not only take the life of the man but would also kill his wife and children and a score of friends and set in motion a process which would result in the death of the woman's children, her mother and a score of her friends. Would we be willing to kill the guilty man and ninety-nine relatively innocent people in seeking to protect a helpless woman? That is exactly what a great war does; for every person it protects, it destroys a hundred others.¹

¹ See Part I, Section: "It is destructive of human life."

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2. *If the use of force is ever justifiable, can we not justify a righteous war by the same line of reasoning?*

There are many ways to use force, some good, some bad. Force is only one of many factors involved in war. It is, therefore, an unsound process to reason by analogy at this point. To say that we are justified in punishing a child by force is not the same as to say that we are justified in using force in such a way as to cripple or kill the child. The action of Jesus in driving the money-changers out of the temple is frequently used as a defense of war. There are many interpretations of this incident, but the most that can possibly be claimed is that Jesus used physical force in accomplishing a good end. There is no evidence that he would have been willing to kill the money changers or that he would sanction the weapons of modern war.¹ The attempt to reason by analogy from a justification of the use of force to a justification of modern war leads to confused thought and disastrous consequences.

¹ See Questions No. 33 and No. 34.

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3. *Is not war simply an extension of the police power?*

It is true that there are a number of points of similarity between the two. But the points of divergence are so numerous and fundamental as to destroy the value of any conclusions based upon analogy. There are four fundamental differences between war and the use of police. (1) The police function as neutral third parties for the purpose of restraining criminals and bringing them before a judicial body for trial and judgment. In war, force is used by the belligerents themselves, no effort being made to bring evil-doers before a judicial body, each army acting as sheriff, judge, jury and executioner, usually under the sway of passion. (2) The police take action against the criminal himself; they do not kill his family and friends. Whereas war does not deal merely with guilty men but destroys multitudes of innocent people; indeed, it does far more damage to the innocent than to the guilty. The police of one city are not used against the police of another city.

(3) There is a fundamental difference in the

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situation which confronts the police and the army. In order to protect society, the police are compelled to restrain or convert the criminal himself; whereas in a national situation it is possible to deal with criminal rulers or officials by strengthening the groups within that country which are opposed to military aggression. For example, the nations of Europe could have protected themselves against Prussian militarists by such unmistakable evidence of goodwill toward Germany as would have undermined the militarists' appeal to fear, thus making it possible for the anti-military party to come into power. Even as it was, with the German people desperately afraid of the existing military alliance between Russia and France, the struggle between the militarists and the anti-militarists was a close one, so much so that the Allies have claimed that the Kaiser chose 1914 as the time to begin the war because he was afraid he could not much longer maintain the support of his people for a huge army.¹ That is to say, it is not necessary to wait until kaisers, czars, kings

¹ See Question No. 36.

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and officials are converted; the danger may be removed by strengthening the anti-war forces within the aggressive nation.

(4) The police actually do serve as a constructive and redemptive force in society, in spite of many miscarriages of justice and occasional misuse of power. Modern war—whatever may be said about wars of previous generations—in actual operation is not constructive but so enormously destructive as to menace the existence of our civilization. In the aggregate it neither protects the innocent nor redeems the guilty. Society would not tolerate a police system which killed a hundred innocent people for every person protected from a criminal. Is it any more reasonable to support a war system that has such a result? ¹

4. *Do not the American and British fleets constitute an effective international police force?*

Police are not self-appointed and are not laws unto themselves. The peoples of the earth have

¹ See Part I, Section: "The Definition of War."

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not elected British and American armed forces as their guardians and have not given them power to settle disputes between nations. Therefore, it is not accurate to speak of the British and American fleets as an international police force. At this moment, no such body exists. The creation of an international police force is theoretically possible. If it were possible to create an armed force, controlled by a judicial body which was really international and impartial, and which would be used against the international criminals themselves, for the purpose of restraining and redeeming them, there would be no difference in principle between this international police and national police. Notice, I do not say national armies, for national armies are not genuine police but are a part of the war system. It seems to me practically impossible to assemble a genuinely international police at this time. Before that can be accomplished it will be necessary to reduce to a minimum or disband altogether the various national armies and navies, and to create an effective world government with adequate jurisdiction. In the meantime, any

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armed force that went by the name "international police" would not be impartial but would be dominated by one or two large military powers.¹ In the event of a serious dispute the nations would almost surely be divided in sympathy. This might easily lead to war. For this reason any effort on the part of the League of Nations to use armed force would probably prove fatal to its usefulness and to the peace of the world. By the time the nations are able to create a genuine international police the need for such an armed body probably will have passed. In that day an international government will have no more need for military weapons to enforce a decision against a nation than our Supreme Court has need of an army to enforce a decision against one of our states.² My own opinion is that police may be used successfully and constructively against individuals or small groups but that armed force cannot be used with safety against an organized body like a city, a state or a nation.

¹ See Question No. 30.

² See Question No. 21.

II: THE RESULTS OF WAR

5. *Is it not true that more good than harm resulted from our Revolutionary and Civil Wars?*

Few Americans have any doubt that the securing of our political freedom was a good thing, and still fewer doubt that the emancipation of the slaves was a blessing for humanity. The fact that great good came from these wars, however, is not in itself a justification of war. Further questions need to be answered. Could we have achieved our political independence without war? How did Canada, Australia and New Zealand secure their liberty? Could our slaves have been freed without war? Were not powerful economic factors hastening the doom of slavery? How were the slaves of the rest of the civilized world emancipated? Did the Civil War solve our racial problem? How do you account for the fact that in no other part of the world is there such intense feeling between whites and

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blacks as in this country? Did the Civil War settle the race question or did it set back its solution by a hundred years?

6. *Did not the World War save the peoples of the earth from Prussian militarism?*

It is unquestionably true that the World War checked the designs of Prussian militarists and dethroned the Kaiser. It is not so certain, however, that the menace of German militarism has been permanently removed. Sixty million intelligent and highly trained people cannot permanently be kept down by armed force. If the Allied powers continue to treat them as a nation of criminals and continue to generate hatred and a desire for revenge, it is only a question of time until these millions will disturb the peace of Europe and the world. Hunger, hatred, the feeling that they have been betrayed and that strenuous efforts are being made to destroy the Fatherland, the desire for revenge and restitution—all this is fertile soil for the never-ceasing propaganda of reactionary militarists.¹

¹ See Question No. 36.

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Moreover, the war has driven militarism deeper into the heart of Europe. Several great militarisms now menace the peace of that continent. In spite of the destruction of two great armies, there are nearly as many men under arms now as in 1913. Everywhere nations are depending upon armed force for security and justice. All the major powers are making vigorous preparations for war. These preparations tend to increase fear, suspicion and hatred of other peoples, and if continued sufficiently long will again bring forth a harvest of destruction. How much more tragic experience is required to teach the nations that militarism cannot be ended by war? How much longer will we have to wait before peoples learn that security and justice cannot be maintained by armed force?

7. Is not the maintenance of political liberty worth any cost?

The whole history of mankind indicates the supreme value set upon political liberty. The freedom which we now enjoy has been purchased by the toil and suffering of those who have gone

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before us. There are many kinds of freedom. Is political independence the most precious of all? In seeking this end, are we justified in using any means that promises success? The belief is widespread that in seeking political freedom the end justifies the means. Even modern war, with its inherent and attendant evils, is justified because of the end in view. Is this a sound position for a follower of Jesus to take? Did Jesus place political freedom above all other values? The answer is clear and incontrovertible. Jesus lived as a citizen of a country that was in bondage to militaristic Rome.¹ His countrymen deeply resented their captivity and were eagerly awaiting the coming of the Messiah, the son of their military hero David, who should lead them in rebellion against the tyrant and restore them to freedom. Jesus claimed to be the Messiah and yet he made no direct effort to throw off the yoke of Rome. If Jesus was a good judge of relative values, and if political freedom is the ultimate value, why did he fail to make this supreme effort? Because he could have led an armed re-

¹ See Question No. 33.

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bellion only by sacrificing a more precious possession—his way of life. For Jesus the pearl of great price was a neverfailing attitude of love and good will toward all men, including even the most wicked of his Father's children, expressed in a life of compassion, service and sacrifice for all. He could not engage in war without abandoning this attitude and forsaking this way of life. The end, important as it was, did not justify the means, involving the utter denial of his spirit and teaching.¹ There are only a few values so precious as political liberty. But even so valuable a possession should not be purchased at the cost of abandoning Jesus' way of life. There may be times, as was the case with Jesus, when the loss of political liberty should be endured temporarily rather than to make use of the weapons of Satan in seeking to cast out Satan.

8. *Bad as it is, is not war sometimes the lesser of two evils?*

Vast numbers of people sanction war on the assumption that it is the lesser of two evils. The

¹ See Question No. 34.

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murder of the helpless, the outraging of women, the tyranny of a foreign invader—surely these are greater evils than war. In this fashion runs the argument. Several other questions, however, need to be answered. Does war actually protect the helpless? Does it really protect virtue? Does it prevent tyranny? Whatever may have been the case in previous generations, war in its modern form certainly does not protect the helpless, but rather brings incalculable suffering upon millions of innocent people. Modern war surely does not protect virtue, but is always accompanied by an enormous increase in sexual immorality and a general lowering of moral standards. While modern war does prevent invasion and tyranny in some countries, it involves invasion, occupation and tyranny in other countries. In the aggregate it does not prevent tyranny but is a most prolific source of it.

Is war the lesser of two evils? Lesser than what specific evil? Which of the great evils of modern life are absent from war? List them and see: wholesale slaughter of innocent and guilty with every conceivable weapon of destruction;

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widespread hatred and lust of blood; lack of reverence for personality; the supremacy of the law of necessity and the subordination of all normal values; world-wide propaganda of deceit and falsehood; the vast increase in sexual immorality; the refusal to love one's enemies; the shattering of faith in a loving God; forsaking the worship of one universal Father and bowing down before national war gods; sowing the seeds of future wars: are these lesser evils? The fact is that modern war is a combination of the greatest iniquities of life. Dr. Homer Folks spoke the literal truth when he said: "We may select from all these other enemies of human life their worst features, combine them into one quintessence of horror, intensify this to the *n*th degree, scatter it continent-wide, and that is war." ¹

9. *Could not a small war be waged without the terrible consequences of a great war?*

To be specific, could not a war be waged between the United States and Mexico without such destructive results? Undoubtedly such a

¹ See Part I, Section: "War is Wrong in its Results."

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conflict would be less terrible than a great war. But even such a war would create attitudes and involve the use of weapons which are a violation of Jesus' way of life. Moreover, such a war is absolutely unnecessary. The economic and political power of the two countries is so disproportionate that there is not even a remote possibility of the Mexican government attacking us, especially if our oil men behave themselves.

There is another phase of this question which needs to be considered. We can never be sure that a small war will remain small. This is especially true of any war in Europe. That continent is now so interdependent and inter-related that war is likely to spread. This is exactly what happened in 1914. A Balkan squabble grew into a World War. A local outbreak is always likely to involve other nations. Therefore, in considering the ethics of war, we must remember that a small war may easily become a great one.

III: THE CAUSES OF WAR

10. *Have we any reason to revise the previous judgment that Germany caused the World War?*

In wartime the tendency is to personify evil and to think of the conflict as having been caused by a few wicked men in the ranks of the enemy. Throughout the conflict the Allies cast upon the German Kaiser the blame for the war. The Treaty of Versailles is based upon the guilt of Germany. Lloyd George is right when he states that without this foundation the Treaty would fail. Few competent observers doubt the guilt of the German leaders. And yet there is a growing conviction on the part of many Allied, American and neutral historians and statesmen that the facts in the case do not warrant the conclusion that Germany *alone* was guilty. The war was caused by the operation of powerful forces

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in the international world—imperialism, nationalism, militarism, alliances, secret diplomacy, fear. No one nation was wholly responsible for releasing these mighty forces. Certainly Germany was not alone guilty of imperialism. She came upon the field late and received only a fraction of the spoils which fell to Great Britain and France. Excessive nationalism was rampant in Germany, but it was visible also in other countries.

The persons who place exclusive blame upon Germany for European militarism overlook the fact that, while Germany probably had the most efficient army, at no time has she ever had the largest army or navy in Europe. The Russian army was the largest and the British navy was by far the most powerful. Germany ranked fourth in the total amount spent upon army and navy during the years between 1873 and 1913—France being first, Great Britain second, and Russia third.¹ Germany ranked third in

¹ The figures are as follows: France, 8,568 million dollars; Great Britain, 8,401; Russia, 7,581; Germany, 7,434. See Harvey E. Fisk, "French Public Finance."

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the total amount spent upon armaments during the 14 years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war—Great Britain being first and Russia second.¹ It is well known that Europe was divided into two great armed camps, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. During the fourteen years prior to the war, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy spent upon armaments 1383 million pounds sterling, while Russia, France and Great Britain spent for the same purpose 2360 million pounds sterling. Italy actually fought upon the side of the Entente and if her expenditures are transferred, the comparative figures are Germany and Austria 1094 millions against 2648 millions for the Entente.

The diplomatic events leading up to the war have received an endless amount of discussion. Since the Armistice there has been less and less tendency in Allied and neutral lands to maintain that Germany deliberately brought on the war. In 1920, Mr. Lloyd George said that the nations “glided, or rather staggered and stumbled” into

¹ The figures are as follows: Great Britain, 889 million pounds sterling; Russia, 810; Germany, 765; France, 660.

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the World War. Ex-Prime Minister Nitti of Italy says: "Now that imperial Germany has fallen, it is absurd to maintain that the responsibility belongs to Germany alone." After an exhaustive study of available evidence, Professor S. B. Fay, an outstanding American historian, writes: "On the whole, these new documents from Berlin and Vienna place Austria in a much more unfavorable light than hitherto. They likewise clear the German Government of the charge that it deliberately plotted or wanted the war." Still more recently Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, of Smith College, has written in the *New York Times Current History Magazine*: "The scape-goat theory of complete, sole and unique guilt on the part of Germany or any other single State can no longer be supported. Probably the majority of competent students would assign the relative responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities in about this order: 'Austria, Russia, France, Germany and England.'"¹ It is not necessary

¹ May, 1924. In the June, 1924, issue of *Current History Magazine* are printed the opinions of ten outstanding American historians concerning Professor Barnes' conclusions. Prof. Chas.

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to agree with Professor Barnes concerning the relative guilt in order to be able to say that *the evidence makes it impossible for any fair-minded person to reach the conclusion that Germany alone was responsible for the war.*¹

11. *In what ways is economic imperialism a cause of war?*

Economic imperialism is the practice of industrially advanced nations of securing control of economic assets in the backward parts of the earth, through annexation, spheres of influence, concessions, investments and markets. Such economic advantages have frequently been

Seymour, of Yale University, says: "No sober historian has ever believed that Germany was solely responsible for the war. All who have studied carefully the recently published documents reject the theory that the civil leaders in any country, with the possible exception of Austria, deliberately plotted the World War." Prof. R. L. Buell, of Harvard University, says: "It seems impossible for any fair-minded person who reads Mr. Barnes' article and compares it with similar studies by Professors Fay, Schmitt and Gooch, to dissent from the unanimous opinion of these scholars that the responsibility for the World War must be divided between Germany and the Allies." Prof. Quincy Wright, of the University of Chicago, says: "I am inclined to think Professor Barnes has made a good case. Russia and France, as a matter of deliberate policy, seem to have been less anxious to avoid war than Germany."

¹ See Question No. 36.

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gained by armed force or through diplomatic pressure supported by armies and navies. This process of securing control of the raw materials—oil, coal, iron, rubber, timber, food—and markets in backward nations has been operating in an intensified form since 1875, until practically the whole of Africa, great areas of Asia and the islands of the sea have passed under foreign control. Rivalry for control of these sections has been the chief cause of friction between the nations and is likely to cause further wars if left unchecked. During the past decade the United States has become increasingly involved in world affairs by reason of heavy investments in various parts of the earth and because of the great importance of foreign markets in maintaining our own prosperity. Our custom of protecting our traders and investors in Latin America by threats of force and by actual armed intervention is creating much suspicion and ill-will against us. Out of such situations in the past many wars have arisen.¹

¹ See Question No. 30.

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12. *To what extent is military preparedness a cause of war?*

Preparedness causes fear and enmity in other countries and leads to counter-preparedness. This in turn serves as an excuse for greater preparedness and leads to a race of armaments, thus making an armed camp of the nations. Such a situation generates fear and enmity and makes difficult the establishment of friendly relations between nations. Preparedness also necessitates the support of a body of professional military and naval men who are highly trained in the art of destruction and whose environment tends to magnify in their minds the place of armed force and to decrease confidence in non-military means of maintaining security and justice. These men exercise considerable influence over national policies. Preparedness is an integral part of the war system and tends to be self-perpetuating. Major General Sir Frederick Maurice says: "I went into the British army believing that if you want peace you must prepare for war. I believe now that if you prepare thoroughly for war you will get war."

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13. *To what extent is extreme nationalism a cause of war?*

True patriotism does not necessarily lead to excessive nationalism. It is patriotism of the my-country-right-or-wrong type which is dangerous to the peace of the world. This readiness to fight on any occasion of the slightest insult to national "honor" leads to military preparedness, with its attendant evils. The tendency to magnify the virtues of one's own country and to excuse its defects while at the same moment exaggerating the faults of other nations and ignoring their merits, not only creates ill-will and counter-enmity but makes difficult any real sympathy and understanding between the peoples of various countries. Excessive nationalism also enables vicious rulers to take great chances in the diplomatic arena, being assured of the support of their people in any event. It is this same excessive nationalism, expressing itself in irresponsible national sovereignty, which has prevented the creation of effective agencies of government between the nations, without which no permanent peace is possible. The terrible

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danger of excessive nationalism in Germany is household knowledge in Allied countries. The menace of our own excesses is more visible in other lands.¹

14. *In what ways is secret diplomacy a cause of war?*

Secret diplomacy is another cause of fear, suspicion and enmity of other peoples. It places enormous power in the hands of foreign office officials and enables them to operate without the knowledge of the people at large and often without the knowledge of parliaments. The whole atmosphere of diplomacy is one of suspicion and bargaining and tends to make diplomats cynical. Centralized and secret control of foreign affairs also gives unscrupulous groups a maximum opportunity to gain commercial concessions in other lands. Secret diplomacy has always been one of the main supports of economic imperialism. Irresponsible power in the hands of a small group of diplomats who were

¹ See Questions No. 17 and No. 18.

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able to operate secretly was one of the major causes of the World War.

15. *To what extent is fear a cause of war?*

Fear is probably the most powerful factor in producing war. The peoples of the earth hate war and desire nothing so much as to be left in peace. The chief reason why they are willing to bear the heavy burden of taxation necessitated by military preparedness and to respond to the call to bear arms is because of fear of what would happen if their country were unable to defend itself. The time has passed when governments can maintain support for a war of open aggression. Every government now defends its warlike preparations on grounds of necessity. The peoples of the earth will no longer support war on any other basis than self-defense or the defense of the helpless. Fear is the most prolific source of hatred. Indeed, some one has said that hate is impossible without fear. Concerning this question, Professor William McDougall, of Harvard University, says: "It was this fear-complex, pervading the mass of the

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people, that made it possible for the German Government to maintain its autocratic regime, to impose upon the mass of the people the burdens of militarism, and made it impossible for the four millions of Socialists to oppose effectively the aggressive gestures and actions of the Emperor, the Junkers, and the big business men. . . . Fear of aggression, of military invasion, is the tap-root of all the trouble; that which alone renders possible and inevitable the flourishing of militarism, the maintenance of armaments, and the imminent risk of war, in spite of the strong desire for peace of the vast majority of Europeans of all nations. And this fear, which was the fundamental cause of the Great War, has been magnified a hundred fold by that disaster.”¹

¹ See Question No. 36.

IV: SUBSTITUTES FOR WAR

16. *So long as human nature remains as it is, are not further wars inevitable?*

This question is based upon the assumption that the fighting instinct and the acquisitive instinct are so deeply engrained in human nature that it is hopeless to expect the abolition of war in this generation. It is pointed out that human nature has not changed materially through the centuries; scratch a civilized man and you find a savage. Men have always waged war and they will continue to do so until that dim distant time when human nature has been changed. This point of view is widely held and deserves serious consideration.

It may be of value at this point to remind ourselves of certain historic facts. Until a century ago men had always owned chattel slaves. One

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of the stock arguments in defense of slavery was that it was inevitable until human nature was changed; the strong had always enslaved the weak and they always would do so. The acquisitive tendency is still operating in our society, and yet chattel slavery no longer exists. Throughout the greater part of human history, individuals and small groups have defended themselves by armed force. It was only a generation ago in America that men went armed and depended upon their own speed and accuracy for protection. Human nature is still much the same, yet the ordinary citizen no longer goes about armed with a revolver.

The history of duelling may also shed some light upon this question. For long ages it was said: So long as human nature remains the same, men will fight duels. Being what they are, men will always resent personal insults and will be quick to fight in defense of their honor. It was said that the only way to abolish duelling is by changing human nature or by removing the causes of duels. The fact is, however, that the

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institution of duelling was abolished before human nature was changed and before the causes were all removed. It is no longer the rule for individuals to go armed or to fight duels. Why? Because society has decided to settle personal quarrels in other ways and has created appropriate agencies through which disputes may be settled without resorting to armed combat. A similar possibility is open to the nations. It is possible for nations to do what smaller units of society have already done: settle their differences through orderly processes of justice, without resorting to violence.

It should also be pointed out that there is a very strong tendency among modern psychologists to discount heavily the old theory of rigid and unchanging instincts. "The human being" says Professor Dewey, "differs from the lower animals in precisely the fact that his native activities lack the complex ready-made organization of the animals' original abilities. Those who argue that social and moral reform is impossible on the ground that the Old Adam of human

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nature remains forever the same, attribute however to native activities the permanence and inertia that in truth belong only to acquired customs.”¹ In this connection, Professor Hocking says: “As to structure, human nature is undoubtedly the most plastic part of the living world, the most adaptable, the most educable. Of all animals, it is man in whom heredity counts for least, and conscious building forces for most.”² While Dr. David Starr Jordan says: “Human nature indeed changes very slowly, but the *point of view* may change very suddenly. Popular education should prepare for just such a change. It is a historic fact that every great collective wrong has died in its moment of apparent triumph; when men came to see it nakedly for what it was, a great revulsion followed. Thus passed away cannibalism, human sacrifices, the Inquisition, witchcraft persecution, religious wars, slavery, absolutism. War, the most powerful and most ruinous of all these, must follow in its turn.”

¹ “Human Nature and Conduct,” p. 107.

² “Human Nature and Its Remaking,” p. 15.

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17. *How can we end the anarchy which now prevails between nations?*

Anarchy is the absence of effective government and orderly processes of justice. There have been many stages of anarchy in human history. For long periods chieftains and feudal barons were laws unto themselves and lived in a state of anarchy with regard to each other. At various times in history cities likewise refused to acknowledge any higher power. Following our Revolutionary War the thirteen states lived for several years in a state of practical anarchy between themselves.¹ Human experience has demonstrated that the only way to end lawlessness and anarchy is by creating appropriate agencies of government. That is the way anarchy has been ended between chieftains, cities and states within a nation. Is it not obvious that this process must be carried a step higher if we are to have international peace? Anarchy between the nations can be ended only by creating international government with appropriate and well

¹ See "War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure," p. 67 (paper edition); p. 153 (cloth edition).

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defined powers of legislation, administration and adjudication. So long as the thirteen states refused to yield any of their sovereign rights, it was impossible to form an effective Federal Union. Is it not imperative that the nations should now do what the thirteen states did after six years of disastrous hesitation, that is, voluntarily relinquish certain of their sovereign rights in favor of an effective government between the nations?

18. *Would not a super-government be a menace to our national freedom?*

There is always a possibility that a government may abrogate the rights of the individual. Indeed, effective government is possible only where individuals are willing to delegate power to their representatives. If each individual insisted upon the right to drive his automobile anywhere he chose and at any speed, traffic regulations and traffic policemen would be useless, with chaos and loss of life as a result. State govern-

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ments have not always adequately safeguarded the liberties of cities. Our Federal Government has frequently abridged the freedom of the various states. Is there any doubt, however, that on the whole there is a much greater degree of freedom and security for all concerned than if appropriate agencies of government did not exist? The fact of the matter is that in a complex and interdependent society, freedom can be maintained only on a basis of effective government. Anarchy destroys real freedom. The relations between nations are now more intimate and complex than was formerly true of cities. All of the arguments in favor of government between cities and states now apply with even greater force with regard to the necessity of appropriate agencies of justice between nations. Maximum freedom and security can be maintained only by the willingness of nations to pay the price which has already been paid by smaller units of society, that is, by voluntarily giving up any sovereign rights which stand in the way of creating adequate agencies of international

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justice. In this connection, Professor Borchard, of Yale University Law School, says: "Some readiness to admit of qualifications of the asserted absolute sovereignty of the state must accompany any plan for the international regulation of the causes of war. Nations that undertake to constitute themselves plaintiff, judge and sheriff in their own cause, cannot be expected to make any serious contribution to the promotion of peace." Mr. Philip Kerr, formerly Private Secretary to Mr. Lloyd George, says: "All Europe must see what many Europeans already see, that Europe must master self-centered nationalism or nationalism will destroy European civilization." Absolute and irresponsible sovereignty on the part of the chieftain, the city, the state, or the nation prevents the effective functioning of government. The absence of effective government leads to anarchy. Anarchy destroys freedom. Is it not obvious, therefore, that real national freedom can be maintained only by creating effective international agencies of justice?

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19. *Should the United States enter the present World Court?*

An effective international court is absolutely essential to the maintenance of peace. The failure of the United States to participate in such a court places a heavy handicap upon it, whereas our full co-operation would help greatly to insure its successful operation. A total of 47 nations have already signed the protocol of the World Court, including all major powers except Russia, Germany and the United States. Those persons who are opposed to the entrance of the United States into the World Court advance four main arguments: (1) it is unnecessary since we already have a Hague Tribunal; (2) it is dependent upon the League of Nations; (3) it does not have compulsory jurisdiction; (4) it does not provide for the outlawry of war. With regard to the first point, attention should be called to the fact that the Hague Tribunal is not a court in any real sense of the term; it is merely a panel of names from which arbitrators may be selected when desired by various governments, and makes no provision for permanent

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judges and regular terms of Court. Concerning the second objection, Secretary Hughes says: "Careful provision has been made to secure the independence of the Court and to safeguard the appropriate discharge of its functions as a judicial body in accordance with accepted judicial standards. . . . The League does not control the Court; that is an independent judicial body." Mr. Elihu Root also says: "The Court is absolutely independent and is subject to no control by the League of Nations or by any other political authority."

With regard to the third point, it is true that the Court does not have compulsory jurisdiction. The recommendation of the committee of jurists to this effect was not adopted. This is a grave weakness and thus far has prevented the Court from dealing with the most important international disputes. There is a provision, however, whereby nations can sign what is called the "optional clause" and thereby accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. Twenty nations have already signed the optional clause. None of the major powers, however, are included

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in this number. There is an abundance of evidence to indicate that the United States Senate is not yet ready to accept this clause. Would we not be more likely to get a Court with compulsory jurisdiction by entering the present Court now and seeking later to get the optional clause accepted?

Concerning the fourth objection, the failure to provide for the legal outlawry of war as a crime is a very serious one and must be remedied if permanent peace is to be assured. The question arises, however, as to how war is to be outlawed. Such an international agreement cannot permanently be effective without a World Court. "War cannot be outlawed by proclamation," says Mr. Root, "or by resolution, or by mere agreement, or by mere force. War can be outlawed only by arraying the moral force of the civilized world in support of definite rules of conduct which exclude war, and by giving to that normal force institutions through which that force may be applied to specific cases of attempted violation." Is it easier to create an entirely new court or to change and strengthen

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the one which has already been accepted by 47 nations?¹

20. *What should we do about the League of Nations?*

The most significant thing about the League is that it is a serious attempt at continuous co-operation on an extended scale between the nations. At the League headquarters in Geneva men from many nations are working together day by day at common tasks. The range of their activities is very broad: the economic reconstruction of Austria, Hungary, and Albania, boundary disputes, the treatment of minorities, refugees, limitation of armaments, international labor legislation, transit, communications, customs procedure, the traffic in women and children, health, mandates, immigration, regis-

¹ For further study see the documents contained in "The United States and the Permanent Court of International Justice" and "The Permanent Court of International Justice," by John Bassett Moore, both published by the American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th St., New York City. For the arguments against the entrance of the United States into the Court, see Miss Frances Kellor's brief, published by the American Committee for the Outlawry of War, 76 West Monroe St., Chicago, Illinois. See also Miss Kellor's new book, "Security Against War."

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tration of treaties, intellectual co-operation, legal aid, research, publication of bulletins and journals. The League is rapidly becoming a clearing-house for the discussion of international problems. Professor Manley Hudson says: "It is not a new state, *sub* or *super*. It is not a new political personality. It is a method of doing business. It is a means for getting people together. It is a machinery for the manufacture of consent. It is an agency for conference and consultation." Out of the endless series of conferences being held under its auspices, and out of the agreements reached and treaties signed, is coming the international law which in time will be substituted for war. The permanent secretariat and the permanent commissions are laying the foundation for effective international agencies of administration. If it is true that peace can be maintained only by creating an international government with adequate power, and that international legislation, administration and adjudication are all essential, then a strong case can be made for the League and the World Court. Certainly they are steps in the direction

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of permanent and effective agencies of justice between the nations.

There are grave weaknesses in the League at the present time, including the following: (1) Several major powers are not included in its membership; (2) too much authority is placed in the hands of the Council and not enough in the hands of the Assembly; especially is it true that the major allied powers have been given undue influence; (3) it lacks sufficient jurisdiction and power to tackle successfully the outstanding problems which are threatening the peace of the world; (4) it provides for the ultimate use of armed force; (5) it makes no provision for the outlawry of the whole war system. No friend of the League has a right to overlook these serious limitations. The League cannot function with full efficiency until Russia and Germany are admitted to membership and are given an equal place on the Council with France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan, and until the United States comes in on equal terms. The League must be made more democratic in two ways: it must increasingly represent the

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peoples of the different nations rather than merely the various governments, and an increasing voice must be given to the large number of smaller nations. Thus far the League has not been permitted to deal with such major problems as the Ruhr and has dealt inadequately with the Corfu crisis. It is true that the League is showing less and less inclination to resort to military force or economic boycott as means of enforcing its decisions, but the mere fact that these provisions are still contained in the Covenant are a constant menace. Still more dangerous is the failure of the League to take drastic steps toward the complete outlawry and abandonment of the war system. Some of these limitations are due to immaturity and some to the refusal of the various nations to grant adequate power to the League and their unwillingness to abide by its decisions. How can the people of the United States be of most aid in removing the dangerous elements of the League and strengthening it where it is weak? By staying out and criticizing or by going in, with such reservations as are deemed necessary, and assum-

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ing our full share of responsibility for improving and strengthening it?¹

21. *In what ways should the League and the World Court enforce their decisions?*

In my opinion the League and the Court must rely upon the moral conscience of mankind and upon organized public opinion for the execution of their decisions. In rare cases expulsion from the League and diplomatic or economic boycott might be used. Any effort on the part of the League to use armed force would probably have disastrous results upon its own usefulness and might easily precipitate another war. The economic blockade when rigorously applied is as deadly as war and causes great suffering to neutrals as well as to the nation against which it is directed.² Our Supreme Court is often

¹ For further study see the "Handbook on the League of Nations," published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston; "League or War" by Irving Fisher; "Woodrow Wilson's Case for the League," edited by Hamilton Foley. For arguments against the League see Miss Kellor's brief and book mentioned in a previous footnote.

² It should be pointed out that there are fundamental differences between the boycott and the blockade. Gandhi's policy of non-co-operation is an example of the former, while a good example of the latter is found in the use of armed force by the Allies to prevent food and other necessary articles from entering Germany during the war and for some months after the Armistice.

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used as an illustration of the power of public opinion in sustaining legal decisions. The question is open for debate whether or not the various states would obey the decisions of the Supreme Court if the Federal Government had no armed force upon which to fall back if necessary. My own opinion is that the Supreme Court has absolutely no need for armed force in getting its decrees accepted by the various states. I am not referring to the acceptance of the decision of the Supreme Court by individuals. That is not the problem with which we are concerned at this point. The decisions of the League and the World Court do not deal directly with individuals but with nations. In every civilized nation there is a liberal element which will respect the judgment of such a judicial body. There may be times, as has been the case with our Supreme Court, when decisions may not be accepted immediately and completely. Patience is a necessary virtue in international affairs as well as in domestic relations. It seems clear that in the long run justice and security are more likely to be obtained if the League and the

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Court depend upon organized public opinion rather than upon armed force or an economic blockade. In this connection, Secretary Hughes says: "There are those who desire to see an international armed force to compel the carrying out of decisions. Those who make this demand generally assume that there will be substantial unity among those furnishing the armed force so that it can be used. But when there is such international unity the power of public opinion is at its maximum and there is the least need for force, while in the absence of such unity the armed force is likely to remain unused. The truth is that the decisions of the Court will have the most solemn sanction that it is practicable to obtain. When nations agree to submit a dispute to a tribunal and to abide by the decision, its observance is a point of international honor of the highest sort. You can really have no better sanction than this and the obligation is one which will be all the more keenly felt when the decision is not simply that of a temporary arbitral tribunal, but of a permanent court sup-

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ported by practically all the nations of the world.”

22. *Can a person who is opposed to all war consistently support the League of Nations?*

In answering this question it must be remembered that the Covenant of the League provides for the use of armed force as a last resort against a recalcitrant nation. Article 16 contains the following provision: “It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.” The question therefore arises: Can a person who is opposed to all war support the League? This is exactly the same question which confronts the individual with regard to supporting his own government which maintains an army and navy. A citizen can consistently pay general taxes and support his government without endorsing every practice of that government. Jesus paid taxes and yet no one would say that

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he endorsed Roman militarism. If a citizen is justified in giving general support to his government while reserving the right to condemn certain of its activities and refusing to take any direct part in the practices which seem to him to violate his religion, can he not take the same attitude toward the League? I believe that the League of Nations, revised and strengthened, is necessary to the maintenance of peace and freedom, and yet I am altogether opposed to the provision which calls for the use of armed force by the League. Is it not justifiable to commend the general activities of the League, while condemning this particular provision of the Covenant?

23. What attitude should we take toward the movement for the outlawry of war?

The idea of the legal outlawry of war as a crime has been sponsored chiefly by the American Committee for the Outlawry of war.¹ Its main provision for an international agreement which

¹ 76 West Monroe St., Chicago, Illinois.

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would reverse the present respectable and legal status of war, making it illegal and criminal, deserves the enthusiastic support of all advocates of peace. At the present time we put in jail those men who refuse to fight when drafted and honor the war-makers. If we desire permanent peace we must reverse this order and punish the war-makers and honor those men who renounce war as sinful and criminal. Concerning the outlawry of war, Professor John Dewey says: "How long have we been taking steps to do away with war, and why have they accomplished nothing? Because the steps have all been taken under the war system. It is not a step that we need, it is a right-about-face; a facing in another direction. ** We can, if we please, take steps to perfect the international law and international courts under the old system, but let us not delude ourselves to think that in improving details of this system we are taking a single step for the elimination of the war system of the world." It should be pointed out, however, that while the plan of the American Committee provides for an interna-

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tional court with affirmative jurisdiction and for the codification of international law, it makes no provision for permanent agencies of international legislation and administration, without which the outlawry of war cannot be made permanently effective. Indeed, many of the supporters of this movement for the outlawry of war are vigorously opposed to any agency like the League of Nations.¹ Is not a revised and strengthened League necessary in order to make effective the outlawry of war?

24. *Would a law requiring a national referendum before a declaration of war be of any great value?*

Such a provision would help to prevent war, but it is by no means a panacea. Such a law would make it more difficult for diplomats to secure support for a war of aggression. It should be remembered, however, that skillful propaganda may be used on such a scale as to arouse and inflame the passions of the people

¹ For a good account of this movement, see Miss Frances Kellor, "Security Against War."

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and thus gain a favorable vote for war in the event of a popular referendum.

25. *Would a law providing for conscription of wealth in wartime help to prevent war?*

In his Memorial Day address in 1923, President Harding said: "In the next war, if conflict ever comes again, we will not alone call to service the youth of the land, which has, in the main, fought all our wars, but we will draft every resource, every activity, all of wealth, and make common cause of the nation's preservation." Would the enactment of this sentiment into law be of any great value? Personally, I am strongly opposed to the conscription of life for war purposes, but if there is to be drafting of life, surely the conscription of wealth is a hundred-fold more justifiable. Is there any possible excuse for allowing some men to retain their property while other men are giving up life? Is property more sacred than flesh and blood? What shall we say of those men who not only retain their property, but actually make great gain out of war? Would not a law con-

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scripting wealth enable us to deal adequately with war profiteers? We should be on our guard, however, against regarding such a law as a panacea. Just as it is possible to arouse the patriotic devotion or the hatreds and passions of men to such an extent that they are willing to lay down life, so will they be willing to sacrifice property if sufficiently aroused.

26. *How should we deal with a "mad-dog" nation?*

The answer to this question is that there is no such thing as a "mad-dog" nation.¹ Vicious propaganda is responsible for the spread of this false idea. There may be rulers or leaders who are "mad," but it is impossible, as we have often been told, to indict a whole people. Whatever may have been the case in times past, we have now reached the point where the peoples of the various nations will not support an avowed war

¹ Persons who regard the Germany of 1914 as such a nation should see Professor Barnes' article in the May, 1924 issue of Current History Magazine, and the comments of ten American historians in the June, 1924 number. See also Questions No. 36 and No. 15.

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of aggression. Wars are now supported because the people concerned are convinced that their country is in danger or because of some supposed grave injustice. It cannot be repeated too often that the way to deal with vicious rulers is by strengthening the liberal forces within that country and thus remove the danger from within. What "mad-dog" nation have we any reason to fear? Let us be specific. Japan? Great Britain? Germany? France? Russia? Canada? Mexico? How shall we guard ourselves against a supposed menace? By arming to the teeth, and thus helping to perpetuate the deadly race of armaments? Or by such unmistakable evidences of goodwill toward the people of the supposedly dangerous nation as to remove their fears and allay their suspicions of attempted injustice on our part? Are security and justice to be achieved by armed force or by creating sympathy and understanding between the various peoples? Toward which cause should we make the larger appropriations and devote the most energy, to armaments or to the extension of the international goodwill?

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27. *What should we do in case of a threatened invasion by Japan?*

The most effective thing, if it could be accomplished, would be to remove the desire for invasion. Is this an impossible hope? Is war with Japan inevitable? The answer to these questions depends at least as much upon what we do as upon what the Japanese do. If we continue to discriminate against them and thoughtlessly enact legislation which they regard as a direct insult, if our yellow press continues its false and exaggerated propaganda, and if our leaders appeal for increased armaments to be used against them, it does not require the prophetic gift to say that we are likely to have serious trouble with Japan within the next twenty or thirty years. But what possible excuse is there for such a fatal policy on our part? Would it not be much wiser to seek to understand the feelings and needs of the Japanese and join with them in a co-operative effort to solve common problems? Following the Washington Conference and prior to our recent immigration

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legislation there was a rapidly increasing anti-military movement within Japan. Would it not be the part of common sense for us to take such action as would strengthen that movement? The Japanese are an exceedingly sensitive people and respond quickly to public opinion in other nations. This fact presents us with a great opportunity to discourage militarism and to promote the liberal movement within Japan. The creation of goodwill toward us by the Japanese does not necessitate the throwing open our doors for unrestricted immigration from that country. All that it involves is placing the Japanese on terms of equality with other peoples. If they were placed on the quota basis, as are the people of other nations, less than 200 Japanese would be entitled to enter annually. Would these few Japanese be as great a national menace as the creation of a vast amount of ill-will toward us, thereby increasing the power of the militarists? Have we any guarantee of security if we depend primarily upon armed force?¹

¹ In answer to Question No. 37 I have expressed my opinion as to what we should do in case of actual invasion of our soil by a foreign army.

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28. *Would we not be justified in going to war with Turkey in order to protect the Armenians?*

A prior question needs to be asked: Is it possible to protect the Armenians by means of war? This question cannot be answered without knowledge of the situation which actually exists in the Near East. If Turkey alone were guilty of massacres and if surrounding nations would unite in a military effort to protect the Armenians, there might be some hope of success. But as a matter of fact, no such situation exists. The massacre of the Armenians is part of a very complex struggle for control of the Near East, a struggle which goes back to the Crusades and which has involved not only the various nations of that region, but also the major European powers. An illuminating account of this conflict has been given by Professor Arnold Toynbee, a recognized authority on the subject, in his "The Western Question in Greece and Turkey." After calling attention to the historic struggle of the Western powers in the Near East, Mr. Toynbee summarizes the situation

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which has prevailed since the World War, in these words: "France was backing Poland vigorously, and Hungary tentatively, against Germany and Russia; and she was backing Turkey tentatively against Russia and vigorously against Greece because Greece had been backed by Great Britain. Great Britain was backing Greece against Turkey, because an aggrandised Greece dependent on British support would save Great Britain the trouble of herself imposing her Eastern peace-terms. Italy was backing Turkey against Greece as payment on account for prospective economic concessions in Anatolia; while Russia was backing Turkey against Greece to deter her from purchasing the backing of any of the Western Powers who were Russia's enemies. Russia also backed the Armenian Republic of Erivan to a limited extent against both Turkey and Azerbaijan. . . . The Greek and Turkish pawns carried on the game of the French and English players."

Out of this rivalry and intermittent warfare have arisen numerous atrocities, the best known of which are the Turkish massacres of hundreds

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of thousands of Armenians. The fact of these bloodthirsty deeds is well authenticated. These massacres by the Turks do not stand alone, however. Concerning the situation in 1912, Mr. Toynbee says: "Streams of Turkish refugees fled before the face of the Serbian, Greek and Bulgarian armies. As the Turkish forces fell back, the Christian population rose against the Moslem minority in the invaded provinces. Villages were looted and burnt wholesale; there was also murder and violation; and the reign of terror by no means closed when the victorious states took over control. The hundreds of thousands of refugees who arrived at Constantinople, and kept on arriving after the conclusion of peace, were destitute and terror-stricken." Mr. Toynbee also tells us that "during the European war, while people in England were raking up the Ottoman Turks' nomadic ancestry in order to account for their murder of 600,000 Armenians, 500,000 Turkish-speaking Central Asian nomads of the Kirghiz Kazak Confederacy were being exterminated—also under superior order—by that 'justest of mankind' the Russian Muz-

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hik." Speaking of his experiences in 1921 as an eye-witness of Greek atrocities against Turkish peasants, Mr. Toynbee says: "My strongest impression during this horrible experience was of something inhuman both in the bloodthirstiness of the hunters and in the terror of the hunted." The evidence is clear that the massacres are not all on one side.

Can we protect the Armenians by war against Turkey? How shall we go about it? If we wait until a massacre starts, how much military help could we render at this distance? Or shall we station permanently a large body of American troops in the Near East? Would this latter procedure make for peace or would it simply add another potential cause of war and massacre? The one thing about which we can be reasonably certain is that any effort on our part to protect the Armenians by military force would result in an even greater loss of life. Their protection depends upon the ending of the rivalry of the Western Powers for political, military and economic control of the Near East, the creating of effective agencies of international government

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and the strengthening of the liberal forces within Turkey.

29. *Would we not be justified in going to war with Mexico in order to prevent Mexican bandits from crossing the border and killing our citizens?*

The actual result of our going to war with Mexico for such a reason would be to cause a greater loss of life and more destruction of property than would have been occasioned by the bandits. How are we to protect ourselves against Mexican bandits? In the same way that we would deal with bandits on the streets of Chicago or a mob in Atlanta; that is, by the police. The use of police against Mexican bandits on our soil would not necessitate war with Mexico. That the Mexican Government will ever declare war against us or move an army across the border to attack us seems to me to be a very remote eventuality.¹ Of course, it must be admitted that such action is within the realm of possibility.

¹ In answer to Question No. 37 I have expressed my opinion as to what we should do in case of actual invasion of our soil by a foreign army.

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There is a possibility also that Canada may attack us. But who believes that this possibility is serious enough to justify a campaign of abuse and preparedness against Canada. Would we be safer than we now are if we had forts and a standing army along our northern border? Why should we not seek security from a Mexican attack in the same way that we have protected ourselves against Canada during the past century; that is, by international understanding and co-operation, without resorting to armed preparedness?

30. *How far should our Government go in protecting the property and lives of our citizens in other lands?*

Before this question can be treated adequately, it is necessary to remind ourselves of the historic consequences of the policy adopted by strong governments of sending armed troops into another country, usually a weak or backward country, in order to protect the lives and property of their citizens. The fact is that this has been the primary method of imperialistic ex-

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pansion. Traders have gone from these strong countries into undeveloped regions or into weak nations. When property and life have been threatened they have called upon their own government for protection. Very frequently such calls for help have been the occasion for military occupation of another country. Sometimes this occupation has taken the guise of a "protectorate," while in many other cases it has meant outright annexation and permanent control. This practice has been followed by all the major powers during the past half century and has been one of the chief causes of war. Our own government has insisted upon its right to send troops into another country if necessary to protect American lives and property. In his message of December, 1904, President Roosevelt, said: "Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however

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reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence to the exercise of an international police power." At various times we have acted on this principle and have sent armed troops into various central American countries, assuming a "financial protectorate" over several of them for extended periods.

How far should our Government go in protecting the property and lives of our citizens in other lands? I have two strong convictions regarding this question: First, our government is not justified in sending armed troops into another country for any purpose; and second, whatever outside interference is needed in order to maintain security within a given country should come from a genuinely international source and not from a single nation. With regard to the first point, it may help us to think more clearly if we reverse the question and ask: Has another nation a right to send armed troops into the United States in order to protect the lives and property of their citizens who reside here? During the middle of the last century when

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life and property were unsafe in great sections of our country, would Germany or England have been justified in sending over an army to protect their citizens? Suppose that race riots continue in this country and that on numerous occasions citizens of France lose life and property, would this be a justification for French armed interference on our soil? Suppose the feeling against the Japanese grows more intense on the Pacific Coast and that the lives and property of Japanese citizens are constantly menaced, would we allow any interference from Japan? Suppose that in the riots and warfare incident to our industrial struggle, citizens of Italy are killed at periodic intervals, would we be willing to have Italian troops land on our shores? The answer to all these questions is obvious. Under no circumstances would we consent to armed interference in our affairs. Why, then, should we claim rights which we are not willing that other nations should possess?

Does this mean that no effort is to be made to protect the lives and property of our citizens

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in other lands? Not at all. It simply means that we will protect them in a way that does not violate the rights of other nations and that does not lead to periodic wars. Whatever outside interference is needed should come from a genuinely international source. Only in this way can really impartial and judicial action be taken. President Roosevelt fell into a very common error when he referred to armed interference on our part as "the exercise of an international police power." That is exactly the way the British talk of their fleet and Poincare referred to the French army in the Ruhr. This is not only a common fallacy, but a very dangerous one. No nation has a right to arrogate to itself the duties of international police. The Latin American nations deeply resent our self-appointed guardianship over them. The time has come when we should abandon the practice of sending armed forces into other nations and should join resolutely in the task of creating effective international agencies of justice and security.¹

¹ See Question No. 21.

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31. *Is passive resistance an effective weapon against armed aggression?*

Since the World War, there have been two major experiments in passive resistance: that of Gandhi and his followers in India, and that of the Germans in the Ruhr. Neither of these efforts was entirely successful; yet both of them exerted a very powerful influence over the course of events. Let us notice first the experiment in India. It is generally agreed that Gandhi exercises a greater power in India than any man who has lived since Gautama Buddha. He adopted the policy of non-co-operation with the British Government as a last resort, after he was convinced that all other methods of achieving justice and freedom had failed. He defined his policy of non-co-operation and non-violence in these words: "The follower of truth will conquer the tyrant by love. He will not carry out the tyrant's will, but he will suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will until the tyrant himself is conquered."

His appeal to his countrymen received a truly marvellous response. Multitudes of Indians

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took the vow of non-co-operation and non-violence. The movement assumed huge proportions and had a profound influence on the British policy. It was not wholly successful, however. The chief obstacle with which Gandhi had to contend was the tendency of his followers to resort to violence. An intimate friend writes: "The agony of spirit which Mahatma Gandhi went through during those days is only known to those who were nearest to him. An angry meeting of leaders took place at Delhi. They wished to go forward in spite of the violence which had occurred, but Mahatma Gandhi refused to carry on the struggle in its further stages while violence was abroad. He sadly confessed, with an almost broken heart, that 'the spirit of violence was in the very air.'" Soon after this time Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to six years in prison. After two years, he was released by the new Labor Government in England. The non-co-operation movement has by no means run its course and in all probability will yet be the most powerful factor in securing freedom for India.

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The experiment in the Ruhr was of a very different sort. It failed to accomplish the withdrawal of the French troops. And yet, contrary to all predictions, passive resistance was maintained for ten months, in spite of the suffering which it involved, and undoubtedly influenced the international situation in a very powerful way. There were three factors which prevented a more complete success of this movement: (1) It was not an attempt to overcome armed force with love and goodwill, but rather a sullen resistance, accompanied by hatred and some violence; (2) it was the only means of resistance which they had and was a policy of desperation, therefore its appeal to the outside world was decreased; (3) the war hatred against Germany in America and other lands was still strong enough to prevent any effective protest against the actions of France. Passive resistance of a purely negative sort, and which is accompanied by hatred and the willingness to use violence if an opportunity presents itself, is doomed to failure. It seems equally certain, however, that

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non-violent resistance of evil in the spirit of active goodwill and service for the aggressor and the willingness to endure humiliation and suffering in such a cause is the most powerful force in this world.¹

¹ See C. M. Case, "Non-Violent Coercion."

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32. *Does not the Old Testament justify war?*

There is no doubt that some writers of the Old Testament believed that God sanctioned righteous wars. Indeed, some very bloodthirsty passages are to be found. It would be a great mistake, however, to say that the Old Testament uniformly sanctioned war. Within its chapters are to be found powerful protests against war and numerous prophecies of a warless world. Listen to these words from Isaiah: "And he will judge between the nations, and will decide concerning many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into plow-shares and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. ** Then justice shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness shall abide in the fruitful field. And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness,

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quietness and confidence forever." Ezekiel says: "And they that dwell in the cities of Israel shall go forth and shall make fires of the weapons and burn them, both the shields and the bucklers, the bows and the arrows, and the handstaves, and the spears, and they shall make fires of them seven years." It is recorded in Zechariah: "And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horns from Jerusalem; and the battle bow shall be cut off; and he shall speak peace unto the nations: and his dominion shall be from sea to sea, and from river to the ends of the earth."¹

Thus we find different opinions concerning the righteousness of war recorded in the Old Testament. The Bible is a progressive revelation of God. Within its pages are evidences of growth in moral perception on the part of the Hebrew people. Should modern war be judged by the standard of the combatants or by the vision of the prophets? Moreover, is the teaching of the Old Testament as valid for Christians today as the higher revelation of the New Testament?

¹ Isaiah 2:4; 32:16, 17. Ezekiel 39:9. Zechariah 9:10.

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33. *Did Jesus ever face a war situation?*

The view is very widely held that Jesus never had to make a decision concerning the use of armed force. What are the facts in the case? Jesus was a citizen of a country which was in political bondage to Rome. If Germany had won the war and permanently occupied Belgium, exercising the power of taxation and the appointing of political and ecclesiastical officials in that country, the situation would have been similar to the one which confronted Jesus. His countrymen deeply resented the tyranny of militaristic Rome and were eagerly awaiting the coming of the Messiah who should deliver them from bondage. Jesus claimed to be the long-expected leader. Numbered among his disciples and followers were men, known as Zealots, who were committed to a policy of violence against the invader. His public ministry occurred during a period of peace but all the while the fires of rebellion were smouldering. Under such circumstances it seems absolutely certain that Jesus must have debated the question with himself whether or not he would use violence

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against the conquerors, as Judas Maccabeus had so brilliantly done in a previous generation. In this connection, Professor Simkhovitch, of Columbia University, says: "From our historical analysis of the situation it becomes quite evident that Jesus had to resent deeply the loss of Jewish national independence and the aggression of Rome. Had he not resented it, there would have been no cause for his fervent humility and acceptance. ** There is little doubt that so great an impression was made by Jesus upon his day and generation that had he wanted to be king and lead his people as the Messiah they expected should have done, he would have been joyously acclaimed throughout Judea. Yet Jesus chose and had to choose the cross. Why did he have to reject the throne? Why did he have to choose a cross?" What concerns us here is the fact that he did face the possibility of using armed force and deliberately turned away from it.¹

¹ For a most illuminating discussion of this whole question, see Professor V. G. Simkhovitch's "Toward the Understanding of Jesus." A paper edition may be secured for 25 cents from the Pamphlet Department, 311 Division Avenue, Hasbrouck Heights, New Jersey.

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34. *Can you imagine Jesus sanctioning or participating in any modern war?*

It will aid clear thinking if we adhere rigidly to the question. At this point we are not asking: would Jesus sanction the use of force or the exercise of police power? Would he be in sympathy with the aims of any war or the spirit manifested by soldiers? The question before us is: Would he sanction modern war? This question cannot be answered satisfactorily by the proof-text method. What we need to do is to bring together the realities of war and the great fundamentals of Jesus' life and teaching, and see if there is any possibility of reconciling them. Let us notice first the three phases of war: (1) preparedness, with its race of armaments, the training of men in the science of organized slaughter, and the deliberate creation of fear, suspicion and hatred of other peoples; (2) the actual combat, during which military necessity and irresponsible national sovereignty reign supreme, involving the use of weapons of terrible destruction, including machine guns, heavy artillery, air raids, boiling oil, poison gas, battle-

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ships, submarines, blockades, starvation, with the consequent slaughter of multitudes of innocent people, atrocities and counter-atrocities, deceit and falsehood; (3) further preparedness and the perpetuation of the vicious circle of fear, suspicion, hatred, preparedness, war; more fear, more suspicion, more hatred, more preparedness, more war.

Now what is Jesus' way of life? It includes: the common Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of all men as members of one great family, the supreme value of every individual, the duty of sympathy and goodwill, love even of one's enemies, the absence of anger and hatred, the avoidance of retaliation and revenge, the duty of never-ending forgiveness, the obligation of the strong to bear the burdens of the weak, the willingness of the innocent to serve and suffer for the guilty—all summed up in the cross of Calvary. When these two sets of realities are brought face to face, their absolute irreconcilability is obvious. The way of the sword and the way of the cross involve utterly different attitudes and practices. When it is remembered that in no modern war is

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the guilt all on one side, it becomes all the more evident that we are dealing here with two absolutely contradictory ways of life. It is, therefore, utterly impossible for me to imagine Jesus abandoning his own way of life and making use of the weapons and practices inherent in modern war.¹

35. *Is Jesus' way of life practicable for nations?*

The belief is widespread that the teaching of Jesus is wholly impracticable as a basis for international relations. Some persons go further and say that the teaching of Jesus is not only impracticable for nations but wholly inapplicable. A former Chancellor of the University of Tübingen has written: "In short, the entire chapter of the duties of love, which is the chief doctrine of the moral law, has no application to the conduct of the state. A nation depends, not upon the love of others, but upon the love of self, upon the fostering and development of its own power and prosperity; and if we characterize this by the term 'egoism,'—a term indeed that is

¹ See Part I, Section: "War is Unchristian."

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scarcely applicable—then egoism certainly is the foundation of all politics.”

It is obvious to a casual observer that thus far even the so-called Christian nations have made little effort to conduct their relations with each other on a basis of the teaching and spirit of Jesus. The result is tragically evident: misunderstanding, fear, suspicion, enmity, excessive nationalism, greedy imperialism, militarism and periodic wars. There can be only one end to a continuation of these attitudes and practices: universal destruction and chaos. The fact is incontrovertible that the manner of life which has hitherto been followed by the nations is impracticable and disastrous. In the light of this conclusion, let us face the question: Is Jesus' way of life practicable for nations? One way to gain light upon this question is to ask: What are the greatest needs of the nations at this hour? Surely all would agree that the following must be included: (1) more goodwill and less hatred; (2) more unselfishness and less greed; (3) more co-operation and less rivalry; (4) more unity and less artificial cleavage; (5) more confidence

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in non-violent agencies of justice and less dependence upon military force; (6) more faith in each other and less fear. Are not the attitudes and practices which are most desperately needed by the nations—goodwill, unselfishness, cooperation, unity, trust in spiritual forces, faith in men—the very ones which are inherent in Jesus' way of life? Is it not true that only by incorporating these characteristics into the life of the nations can modern civilization be saved from destruction? Are we not justified in saying that Jesus' way of life is the *only* practicable way for the nations to secure peace, freedom and justice?

36. *What should a Christian in Belgium or France have done in 1914?*

He should have resolutely followed Jesus' way of life; that is, he should have refrained from hatred and retaliation and should have sought to overcome evil by doing good, maintaining an attitude of unfaltering goodwill and using his best intelligence in choosing ways and means of showing love toward his enemies. Each Christian,

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whether he was a peasant in the line of German advance, a mayor of a town, or an official of the Government, should have decided for himself the most effective way to convince the invaders that he had no hatred toward them. What would have been the result if any considerable number of Belgians or Frenchmen should have done this? Would such a course have stopped the Germans? Almost certainly not. They would probably have overrun great sections, a few innocent people would have been killed, and there would have been at least temporary loss of political freedom. But is it not true that armed resistance resulted in the death of multitudes, the violation of many innocent women, four years of military occupation and unspeakable brutality and tyranny? Moreover, not only did armed resistance fail to protect the helpless, it failed to remove the menace of militarism but spread its deadly poison more widely throughout the world. Resistance of the invader by aggressive goodwill would not have prevented some loss of life and temporary oppression, but is it conceivable that

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the Germans would have slaughtered a million Belgians or Frenchmen in cold blood.¹

But how could aggressive goodwill have freed the soil of German invaders? By convincing the German people that they had no reason to fear invasion of their own land, and thereby depriving the militarists of their support and driving them out of control of the government. At this point we should remind ourselves again that a great majority of the German people thought they were fighting in self-defense.² They believed

¹ Brand Whitlock, American Minister to Belgium during the period of the German occupation, says: "These wholesale massacres followed immediately upon some reverse which the Germans had sustained. ** This happened so many times and so precisely in the same way that its significance cannot be avoided. But there is a striking corollary to all this. In all those regions where the Germans could pass without resistance from the Belgian or French or English troops, there were no massacres and no incendiarism in the grand style; there were many isolated cases of individual outrage and atrocity, of course, but no systematically organized annihilation of cities, no massacre of populations." "Belgium Under the German Occupation," pp. 152, 153.

² A British writer in the *Edinburg Review*, in April, 1913, said: "When we consider the situation of Germany, wedged between two great military powers, one far superior to herself in numbers and territory, the other with a military organization almost equal to her own, we find it easy to understand the nervousness which has caused her to strengthen her defences even on this enormous scale." While in 1908 Mr. Lloyd George said: "I want our friends, who think that because Germany is a little frightened she really means mischief to us, to remember that she is frightened for a reason which would frighten us under the same circumstances. See Questions No. 10 and No. 15. See also "War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure," pp. 26-28 (paper edition).

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that the military alliance of Russia and France was for the purpose of destroying or crippling Germany. If the fears of the German people could have been removed by acts of goodwill on the part of surrounding peoples, I believe they would have refused to support the armed occupation of Belgian or French soil, but would have driven the militarists from power and ended the military occupation. How long would this have required? We can only conjecture. But we should remember that in 1912 the anti-militarists, the Social Democrats, polled more than four million votes and elected a larger number of delegates to the Reichstag than any other party and that it was an open question as to how long the militarists could maintain control, in spite of skillful and extensive propaganda for the purpose of creating fear and hatred of France and Russia.¹ When the victory had already been

¹ The vote of the Social Democrats increased from 312,000 in 1881, to 2,107,076 in 1898, and 4,250,329 in 1919; while its representation in the Reichstag was as follows: 1871—1; 1890—35; 1903—81; 1912—110. The 110 members elected in 1912 was a larger number than had been elected by any German party for more than thirty years. Notwithstanding the fact that there were nine parties in the 1912 election, the Social Democrats polled 35 per cent of the total vote. (See J. Ellis Barker, "Modern

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almost won from within, how much goodwill from without would it have required to turn the scales against the militarists?

The method of armed resistance resulted in the death of 26 million people and well-nigh wrecked a continent. Could the method of resistance by active goodwill have possibly been a more ghastly failure? If such resistance could have removed the fears of the German people and deprived militarism of its support from within, would we not be immeasurably nearer a warless world? Is it not time that we turned

Germany," p. 298, and F. K. Kruger, "Government and Politics of the German Empire," p. 234).

Concerning the opposition to army and navy bills, Prince Von Bulow, for many years the German Chancellor, says: "In the end we certainly succeeded in obtaining majorities of the middle classes for all these Armament Bills. But their acceptance was nearly always the result of difficult negotiations, and often of inconvenient compromises. We were very far from being able to count on sure and substantial national majorities for our legitimate and reasonable Armament Bills. More than once the decision hung in the balance." "Imperial Germany," p. 216, 217.

The following words are taken from the Social Democrats' "Official Handbook for German Voters:" "The God of Christians is not a German, French, Russian, or English God, but a God of all men, an international God. God is the God of love and of peace, and therefore it borders upon blasphemy that the priests of different Christian nations invoke this God of love to give victory to their nation in the general slaughter. It is equally blasphemous if the priest of one nation prays the God of all nations for a victory over another nation." (Barker, p. 306.)

See Question No. 10.

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away from armed force and put our trust in non-military means of defence?

37. What should a Christian in the United States do if our soil is actually invaded by a foreign army?

It must be admitted that such an event is exceedingly unlikely. It is usually assumed that if it did occur only two alternatives would be open to us: (1) to resist the invader with an army and navy; (2) to lie down and do nothing. But surely there is a third possibility: resist the invaders by active goodwill expressed through appropriate channels. This would necessitate the refusal to retaliate with evil for evil and the taking seriously of Jesus' challenge to love one's enemies. Just what this would mean in the way of a specific program would vary with individuals, depending upon the actual situation with which they were confronted. Every individual should use his best intelligence in choosing ways and means of manifesting goodwill toward his enemies. What would be the probable result of such a procedure? Would it be

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effective in driving out the invaders. Probably not immediately. Then how would we ever get rid of them? By convincing the rank and file of people in the nation from which they come of our goodwill and in that way deprive the invaders of support from their home base. What would happen in the meantime? Some people might get killed and others would undoubtedly have to suffer humiliation. No method can guarantee us against such affliction. Any plan of dealing with invaders requires courage, patience and sacrificial devotion. These qualities are always manifested to a marked degree by soldiers. Can there be any doubt that justice and freedom would be secured more certainly if these same virtues were displayed by men and women armed only with spiritual weapons? Is not love more powerful than hatred? Do we not believe that the cross is mightier than the sword? To scoff at this method of resistance as visionary idealism is in reality to reflect upon the sanity and effectiveness of Jesus' own method.¹

¹ See Questions No. 15, No. 33 and No. 34.

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38. *What would happen if the churches of America should unequivocally renounce war as sin and should refuse utterly to sanction or support it again?*

It is well to remind ourselves that this question refers to the war system, not to the use of force or the exercise of police power. What would happen if the churches should abandon the war system? What would be the effects upon (1) the rank and file of our own citizens, (2) our government, (3) the peoples of other lands? With regard to the first group, there would undoubtedly be some people who would regard such action as cowardly and unpatriotic and who would turn in disgust from the churches and refuse to support them. Another and probably a much more vital group, who had previously refrained from active participation in the life of the churches, would see in such action evidence of a new determination to take Jesus seriously, and would respond eagerly to such a challenge. Can there be any doubt that the abandoning of war by the churches would greatly increase the vitality and enthusiasm of all their efforts?

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(2) Such action would greatly strengthen the hands of those officials in Washington who are seeking to substitute international agencies of justice for violence, and would undoubtedly result in less military and naval preparedness and less dependence upon the war system. As a matter of fact, the members of the churches hold the balance of political power in the United States. If they are sufficiently in earnest they can elect representatives who will enact into legislation any policy to which they are resolutely committed. No government in Washington would dare to advocate a policy to which the churches were unitedly and vigorously opposed. Therefore, they have a great opportunity and a heavy responsibility in this whole matter. Persons in official positions find it difficult to maintain freedom of thought and action and easily fall into deep ruts of tradition. On this question of the war system they need to be jolted by drastic action on the part of the churches.

(3) The abandoning of the war system by the churches in the United States would un-

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doubtedly create a thrill of hope and enthusiasm in the hearts of common people around the earth. Especially would this be so if simultaneously our churches would demand emphatically that our government co-operate enthusiastically with other nations in creating and strengthening appropriate agencies of international justice. The vigorous advocacy of this two-fold policy by our churches would enormously strengthen the efforts of the churches in other lands toward the same ends. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that in many countries a powerful organized labor movement is resolutely committed to oppose war.

What would happen if the churches of the United States should induce our government to make the following proposition to the nations of the earth: That all armies and navies should be reduced 20 per cent each year for the next four years, and that on the first day of January, 1930, all war, offensive and defensive, should be declared illegal and criminal and the whole war system abandoned? If at the same time our

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government should announce its eagerness to co-operate to the limit with other nations in creating effective international agencies of justice and security, what reception would this two-fold announcement receive? The militarists and reactionaries everywhere would undoubtedly consider it a Utopian dream or utter nonsense. But what about the peoples of the earth who are desperately sick of war and long passionately for its abolition, what would be their response? Is there any doubt that they would acclaim the idea with enthusiasm and would insist upon appropriate action by their various governments? In what country are the militarists sufficiently well entrenched to withstand the tidal wave of sentiment for the outlawry of war which would be created by such a bold offer on the part of a major power? Is not such a dramatic move the very thing that is needed to arouse the peoples of the various nations and to jolt statesmen out of old ruts and compel them to abandon the war system and substitute international agencies of justice and security?

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39. *What are the churches now saying concerning the war system?*

Everywhere churches and religious bodies—local, district, state, national, denominational and interdenominational—are going on record in various resolutions concerning war. The following quotations indicate the variety of these resolutions: The Blue Valley (Nebraska) Association of Congregational Churches adopted this resolution: “Whereas, we believe that war is the world’s chief collective sin, directly contrary to the spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ, be it resolved that we ** declare our opposition to the whole war system and our inability to support future wars or add to them the sanction of the Christian religion.” The ministerial union of Los Angeles, California, adopted the following declaration against war: “1. Modern warfare is contrary to the spirit and teachings of Jesus. 2. The church as the body of Christ cannot sanction war, and calls upon our government to outlaw it. 3. A member of the church in his personal attitude toward war is free to follow the dictates of his

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own conscience. 4. The church forbids her pastors and teachers as officials to promote, bless, or approve war. 5. The church refuses to use of her resources in the interest of war. 6. Any punishment for conscientious abstinence from war or outspoken objection to war is repugnant to religion, to morality, and to the spirit of our constitutional liberties." The Chicago Federation of Churches, representing 650 churches and 15 denominations, passed a resolution which contains these words: "In humble penitence for past mistakes and sincere repentance for our want of faith in and devotion to the ideals of the Kingdom of God, and affirming our unfailing belief in the peaceful method of settling all international disputes, we declare ourselves as unalterably opposed to war, and the entire war system, and affirm our purpose to lead our people in a crusade for a warless world." Over 500 delegates at the Indianapolis Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement voted for the following proposition: "We believe that henceforth war is an utter denial of Jesus' way of life, ineffective

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as a means of settling differences between nations; therefore, we declare our resolve not to sanction or participate directly in any future war."

The Methodist Federation for Social Service is on record in the following words: "We recognize and accept the peculiar responsibility of the church to utter moral judgment concerning the nature of war. We therefore declare that war is wrong. It is contrary to the spirit and purpose of Jesus. Whatever may be true concerning the past, present experience demonstrates that in the modern world, war is unable to achieve the great moral aims of justice, fellowship and peace. We hold that war and the war system constitute the world's chief collective sin. Consequently in our collective capacity as a church we can give it neither our blessing nor our aid nor permit our organization to be used for its promotion." The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Springfield adopted the report of a special committee which contains these words: "We are determined to

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outlaw the whole war system. ** Governments which ignore the Christian conscience of men in time of peace, cannot justly claim the lives of men in time of war. ** We hold the cause of peace dearer than party allegiance, and we shall tolerate no dilatory or evasive attitudes on the part of those who represent us.” Twenty of the most influential ministers of the Disciples of Christ from fifteen states and representing all shades of theological opinion, recently sent a letter to all Disciple ministers in the United States, containing these words: “We feel impelled to express the strong conviction that the churches should not sanction or support any future war.”¹ The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, through its Executive Committee, has declared: “This war-system . . . is the world’s chief collective sin. . . . We are convinced that the whole war system of the nations is unnecessary and unchristian. . . . War should be outlawed by international law.” The

¹ In response to this letter, about 1,300 Disciple ministers have signed the following declaration: “I desire to express the strong conviction that the churches should not sanction or support any future war.”

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great conference at Birmingham, England, known as "Copec"—The Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship—declared: "That all war is contrary to the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ. That the Christian Churches should unreservedly condemn and refuse to support in any way a war waged before the matter in dispute has been submitted to an arbitral tribunal, or in defiance of the decision of such a tribunal."

There is a considerable body of evidence to indicate that the churches everywhere are coming nearer and nearer to the position which has long been held by the Society of Friends. In 1660 the Quakers declared: "We utterly deny all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretence whatever; this is our testimony to the whole world." In 1804 and again in 1854 the Quakers declared: "We feel bound explicitly to avow our continued unshaken persuasion that all war is utterly incompatible with the plain precepts of our Divine Lord and Lawgiver, and with the whole spirit and tenor of His Gospel; and that

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no plea of necessity or of policy, however urgent or peculiar, can avail to release either individuals or nations from the paramount allegiance which they owe unto Him who hath said, 'Love your enemies.' ”

VI: THE CITIZEN AND WAR

40. *Is loyalty to country the highest of all loyalties?*

Every man has three major loyalties: to family, to country, to God and humanity. And any true man is willing to die on behalf of any one of these loyalties. Upon this point we are all agreed. Any differences of opinion arise as to the relative importance of these three loyalties. What shall we do in the event of a conflict between any two of them? Is loyalty to family above loyalty to country and to God? Is loyalty to country above loyalty to family and to God? Is loyalty to God above the loyalty to family and to country? My own opinion is this: I believe that loyalty to country is a higher loyalty than loyalty to family, and that loyalty to God and humanity is a higher loyalty than to family or to country. If a man is confronted with the alternative of betraying his country and causing

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great damage to the larger group or seeing his family suffer, he should refuse to betray country. That is to say, while recognizing the very heavy obligation resting upon every man to protect his family, he is not justified in saving their lives at the expense of many more lives of the larger group. Likewise, while recognizing the serious obligation to be loyal to one's country, if a man is confronted with a situation where in order to obey the laws of his country he must be disloyal to God and humanity, he is under supreme obligation to disobey such laws. If loyalty to God is not above all other loyalties, then vital religion is impossible.

Long ago Jesus recognized the possible conflict in loyalties and said: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me." And on another occasion he said: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's." Paul believed very strongly in the state and went so far as to say: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there

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is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." Did Paul mean that the citizen must always obey the state? Most emphatically not, if we are to interpret his teachings in the light of his own actions. Again and again he refused to obey the rulers of his day and frequently was put in jail for his disobedience. The early disciples were constantly confronted with this question of loyalty to country and loyalty to God. They settled the matter and they settled it right when Peter, speaking on their behalf, said in reply to a command from the authorities: "We must obey God rather than men."

41. *Is it justifiable for a citizen, on grounds of conscience, to refuse to take an active part in war?*

This question brings us face to face with the relative authority of the state and the individual conscience. For many centuries a great struggle has been waged around this issue. Up until

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our entrance into the World War it was generally assumed in the United States that this battle had been won by conscience. The first amendment to our Constitution contains this provision: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting *the free exercise thereof*." Most of the states declare that it is the privilege of "every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience." Nineteen states declare that "no human authority ought to control, or interfere with, the rights of conscience." Nine states provide that "no person may be molested in person or estate on account of religion."

And yet it should be pointed out that the Supreme Court has on several occasions, notably in the case of the Mormons, denied the absolute right of the individual conscience. The fact of the matter is that we find ourselves between the two horns of a dilemma. If the individual has an unqualified right of conscience then we are in danger of chaos and anarchy. On the other hand, it is obvious that if the state is absolutely sovereign in all realms then an external authority

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is substituted for the individual conscience, and vital religion becomes impossible for those persons who disagree with the authorities on moral issues. Confronted as we are with the danger of anarchy on the one hand and tyranny on the other, what shall we do? My own opinion concerning this great issue may be summarized briefly as follows: I recognize the necessity of government and believe in obedience to law—even those laws which are disliked and which are regarded as unwise—except in the case of a law which if obeyed would necessitate a supreme violation of conscience and the denial of one's deepest religious convictions. There are differences of opinion as to whether it is ever right or expedient for the state to compel a citizen to violate his religious convictions concerning a major issue, but it seems clear that in refusing to obey such a law the individual must be prepared to take the consequences. For me to sanction or participate in war would mean the adoption of attitudes and practices which I regard as an absolute repudiation of Jesus' way of life. I do not believe that a man can ever serve his country or

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humanity most effectively by abandoning that way of life. In proportion as a citizen really follows Jesus he become a true servant of his country. Therefore, I feel under obligation to disobey any law that would compel me to engage in war and thus deny my Lord and betray humanity.¹

42. *If a citizen is justified in disobeying the command of the state to engage in war, is he not also justified in disobeying the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act?*

If any citizen is strongly convinced that the observance of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act violates the will of God for his life then he should come openly to the authorities and say: "My conscience and religion keep me from obeying the Volstead Act; I am impelled to continue the purchase or sale of intoxicating liquor; I am willing to suffer the consequences of disobeying the law and am ready to go to prison." If he does not take this public action but continues to break the law secretly, he must

¹ See Part I, Section: "Freedom of Conscience."

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be classified with the draft-evader or deserter, who avoids military service by hiding himself or fleeing from the country. It is this secret disobedience that leads to general lawlessness and widespread disrespect for the constituted authorities. If the men to whom the refusal to obey the Volstead Act is a matter of conscience are willing to declare themselves publicly and take the consequences, would their action endanger government and due process of law? As a matter of fact, it is perfectly well known that of the total number of persons who violate the Volstead Act, the vast majority do so because of selfish appetite, while only a small fraction do so because of a moral conviction.

43. *Is it treason to refuse to engage in war?*

The answer to this question depends upon the answers we give to several others. Is it treason for a citizen to follow Jesus in refusing to use the weapons of war? Is it treason to take seriously Jesus' challenge: "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you,"

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and to follow his way of life resolutely at all times and under all circumstances? Is it treason to believe that security and justice can more adequately be maintained by abandoning armies and navies and depending entirely upon spiritual weapons and organized goodwill? Is it treason to obey God rather than men? If it is treason to refuse to engage in war, why did our government provide for the exemption of Quakers and members of similar religious bodies from active military service? How can it be treason for certain citizens to refuse on grounds of religion to engage in war when such exemption has already been granted to many other citizens?

44. *What right has a citizen who enjoys the blessings of his country to refuse to fight in the hour of danger?*

It is obvious that every citizen owes a very heavy debt to his country. Many of the values which he cherishes most highly have been achieved and preserved by the orderly processes of government. It goes without saying, therefore, that a citizen is under heavy obligation to serve his

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country in the hour of need. For a loyal citizen there is no possible escape from this duty to serve country. The only legitimate difference of opinion has to do with *methods* of serving one's country. Is there any excuse for refusing to bear arms in defense of country? My own opinion is that there are good reasons—intellectual, patriotic and religious—for refusing to use military weapons. If the evidence is conclusive that war is now futile, and may be suicidal if used again on a great scale, that rather than being the lesser of two evils it is a combination of the major evils of our day, that it is the chief source of fear, suspicion and hatred between the nations and is self-perpetuating in its very nature, that it is inherently and essentially a supreme violation of Jesus' way of life, that it could be prevented by substituting orderly processes of justice and organized public opinion—if these things are true, then surely common sense, patriotic devotion and loyalty to Jesus all demand that the citizen should refuse to use weapons which are so terribly destructive of supreme values and which are self-defeating in

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their very nature. A homely illustration may shed light upon this question. Suppose that six men are walking along a country road and suddenly see a house in flames. Naturally they rush to put the fire out. They seize several buckets filled, as they suppose, with water and begin to throw the contents on the fire. One man, noticing that the buckets do not contain water but oil, refuses to empty his bucket on the fire. The other men begin to upbraid him for refusing to aid them. The man replies that fire cannot be put out with oil and begins to search about for other means of extinguishing the blaze. There is an overwhelming amount of evidence to indicate that the use of military weapons in seeking to overcome armed aggressors is merely to pour oil on the fire which is destroying the nations. The refusal to use the weapons of war is not, however, an excuse for indifference and idleness on the part of any citizen. He is under obligation to take up weapons which he believes will be effective against the enemies of his country and must reveal the same courage and sacrificial devotion that is demanded of soldiers.

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Nothing less than the willingness to die with spiritual weapons in his hands is an adequate substitute for military service.

45. *Is a student justified in refusing to participate in compulsory military training?*

I cannot answer this question for any other person. I can only say that if I were a student in secondary school or college and held my present convictions concerning the whole war system, I would be compelled to refuse to participate in military training and would be willing to take the consequences of such a refusal. In giving this answer I am assuming that the military training under discussion is under the war department and is a part of the war system.

46. *What attitude should a Christian take toward military training camps?*

Such camps offer many advantages, including physical exercise, recreation, discipline, social companionship, training in citizenship, etc. Nevertheless, I am wholly opposed to military camps which are conducted under the auspices

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of the war department for the following reasons:

(1) They are officially a part of the war system; (2) they magnify the place of armed force as a means of maintaining security and justice and minimize the value of non-violent means of settling disputes between nations; that is to say, they spread the war philosophy; (3) the good features of such camps may easily be secured in other ways.

47. *What is the value of going on record now as refusing to sanction or participate in any future war?*

If a person is strongly convinced that henceforth war is tragically ineffective and utterly unchristian, why should he declare publicly that he does not intend to engage in or actively support any future war? It seems to me that there are four good reasons for such action. (1) Such a step will fortify a person and help him to stand fast if a war emergency arises. If he has not reached a definite decision concerning the use of the weapons of war prior to such an emergency, it will be immeasurably more difficult for

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him to think clearly and act according to his deepest convictions. In that hour propaganda and passion are likely to lead to the adoption of the weapons of violence unless a person has already irrevocably committed himself against the war method of dealing with such a crisis.

(2) A public declaration of purpose very frequently has a powerful influence upon the person taking such action. Every minister can tell of persons whose lives have been profoundly affected by the very act of taking a public stand for Christ. The person who makes a public declaration that he cannot sanction or support any future war is likely to have his determination to end war greatly strengthened and his enthusiasm kindled for the crusade to prevent war. (3) Such action will help to make clear the real issues involved and thereby affect public opinion. Practically all people believe in peace and abhor war, that is to say, they are against war in general, while a considerable majority have always been highly in favor of every war that has been waged. The task before us is the creating of public opinion not only against war

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in general but also against each particular war, indeed, against the whole war system. The person who makes a clean break with the war system helps to sharpen the issue and to aid in the creation of sound public opinion. (4) If any considerable number of men should take such action the effect upon government officials would be very powerful and would greatly strengthen their desire and determination to discover and make use of non-violent means of settling differences between nations.

48. *If only a small percentage of citizens were willing to take the position of conscientious objectors in the event of war, what good would it accomplish for a minority to do so?*

The chief value of such action is the example set by men who are willing to follow at any cost what they regard as the will of God and who are not deterred even by disgrace and imprisonment. The immediate visible effects of the action of the conscientious objectors may seem negligible, but it is out of similar action by

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small groups throughout human history that great social reforms have arisen. What good did it do for the early disciples to die in the arena with wild beasts rather than deny their Lord? What good did it do for Savonarola and Huss to die for their convictions? What good did it do for the early abolitionists to suffer imprisonment and mob violence because of their refusal to compromise with or keep silent concerning slavery? Indeed, what good did it do for Jesus to go to the cross? Every follower of Jesus is under obligation to obey the will of God regardless of where it leads and what it costs, and regardless also of the blindness and wickedness of those about him. There is no excuse for a Christian to refuse to follow the best light he has.

49. *Is it not foolish and unpatriotic to pledge one's self now not to support any future war without waiting for full information at the time of the emergency?*

If the decision depended upon the *purpose* or objective of a future war, obviously an intel-

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ligent judgment could not be reached prior to the emergency. A decision not to engage in any future war may be reached, however, regardless of the end in view. That is to say, the decision we are discussing concerns *means* of attempting to reach a desired end. It is admitted that the end in view in a possible war of the future may be very noble. And yet I am thoroughly convinced that modern war weapons and methods cannot be used successfully in achieving a holy end. If a person believes, in the light of the tragic experience of the past decade and in view of the essential nature of modern war, that war is futile, suicidal and unchristian, why should he not go on record now as refusing to be a party to the destruction of civilization? *The end in view does not determine the effectiveness or failure of war as a means of reaching a desired goal.* Upon this question of the futility of the war method an enormous mass of evidence is already at hand.¹ Indeed, more light is now available than would be true in an hour of propaganda

¹ See Part I, Section: "War is Wrong in its Results."

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and passion. We are not making a decision concerning an end but concerning a method.

50. *Is it not cowardly to refuse to use military weapons in defense of country and humanity?*

It is certainly true that a man may refuse to engage in war through cowardice. This has been true of many draft-evaders and deserters. It is equally certain, however, that a man may refuse to use war weapons and yet have a high degree of courage. Does it not require great bravery to remain loyal to one's religious convictions in the face of social ostracism, persecution and imprisonment? Is it not true that the heroism of some conscientious objectors was as genuine as that of any soldier? Does it require less courage to resist armed aggressors with non-violent weapons and organized goodwill than with military weapons? Did Jesus reveal less courage than the Zealots? The fact of the matter is, security and justice cannot be achieved without courage and sacrifice, regardless of the weapons used. If peace and freedom are to be

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secured by the means outlined herein—*the creation of effective agencies of international justice, the removal or adequate treatment of the causes of war, the creation of the international mind and heart, the outlawry of war, and the abandonment of the whole war system*—men and women must be enlisted who will dedicate time, energy, talents and life to this greatest of modern crusades, with the same faith in their cause and weapons, the same high courage, the same sacrificial devotion and willingness to lay down life, which characterize the soldier at his best. Here is to be found the genuine moral equivalent of war.

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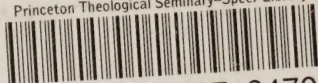
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